

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

SEPTEMBER 1947

Science and Social Work	Arlien Johnson	297
Federal Services for Children under Reorganization	Mildred Arnold	309
Employment of Graduates of the School of Social Service Administration	Helen R. Wright	316
Social Insurance and the Right to Assistance	Robert M. Ball	331
Medical Care under Compulsory Sickness Insurance in Germany	Curt Steffen, M.D., D.P.H., F.I.C.S.	345
The Social Responsibility of the Veteran in a Democracy	George W. Ebey	354
Relief Supplies and Welfare Distribution: U.N.R.R.A. in Retrospect	W. Hardy Wickwar	363
American Social Welfare History Select Documents: The Work of Thomas H. Gallaudet and the Teaching of the Deaf	Edith Abbott	375

Notes and Comment by the Editor:

"Statistics and Peace."—The Right of Asylum.—Our Own D.P. Problem.—The War and the Marriage Rate.—Working Mothers with Young Children.—"A Child Is Hurt."—Some Child Labor Gains.—For Employment of the Handicapped.—The I.L.O. in Geneva.—"Military Justice."—"Sheltered Workshop" Activity Increasing.—Bootlegging of Babies in New York.—Farewell to U.N.R.R.A.—The U.N. and Child Welfare.—The End of E.M.I.C.—National Mental Health Program.—Notes from the Professional Schools.—The American Association of Social Workers.—National Conference of Social Work, 1947.—In Memoriam: Jacob Kepecs, 1882-1947; Helen Gregory MacGill, 1866-1947		387
Letters to the Editor: Marriage Guidance Council, by Jean Hodgson; Social Workers and the Press, by Victor S. Yarros		410
Book Reviews		414
Reviews of Government Reports and Public Documents		429
Contributors		436

(For full Contents see inside pages)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, U.S.A.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO THE SCIENTIFIC AND
PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS OF SOCIAL WORK

Edited by

THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EDITORIAL BOARD

EDITH ABBOTT

Editor

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

WAYNE McMILLEN

HELEN R. WRIGHT

The *Social Service Review* is published quarterly by the University of Chicago at the University Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill. The subscription price is \$5.00 per year; the price of single copies is \$1.50. Orders for service of less than a full year will be charged at the single-copy rate. Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States and its possessions, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Republic of Honduras, Mexico, Morocco (Spanish Zone), Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Rio de Oro, El Salvador, Spain (including Balearic Islands, Canary Islands, and the Spanish Offices in northern Africa; Andorra), Spanish Guinea, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Postage is charged extra as follows: for Canada and Newfoundland, 20 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$5.20), on single copies, 5 cents (total \$1.55); for all other countries in the Postal Union, 48 cents on annual subscriptions (total \$5.48), on single copies, 12 cents (total \$1.62). Patrons are requested to make all remittances payable to The University of Chicago Press in United States currency or its equivalent by postal or express money orders or bank drafts.

The following are authorized agents:

For the British Empire, except North America, India, and Australasia: The Cambridge University Press, Bentley House, 200 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1, England. Prices of yearly subscriptions and of single copies may be had on application.

Claims for missing numbers should be made within the month following the regular month of publication. The publishers expect to supply missing numbers free only when losses have been sustained in transit and when the reserve stock will permit.

Business correspondence should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 37, Ill.

Communications for the editors and manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor of THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW, The University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill.

The articles in this journal are indexed in the *International Index to Periodicals*, New York, New York.

Applications for permission to quote from this journal should be addressed to The University of Chicago Press, and will be freely granted.

Entered as second-class matter March 17, 1927, at the post-office at Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in United States Postal Act of October 3, 1917, Section 1103, amended February 28, 1925, authorized March 28, 1927.

[PRINTED
IN U.S.A.]

the
ear;
ged
ited
uba,
occo
(in-
rica;
ows:
ngle
nual
sted
cur-

Cam-
and.

gular
when

press,

or of

New

Uni-

Accept-
mended

T

V

F

S

F

E

S

M

T

R

A

P

N

C

B

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Vol. XXI

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER 1947

No. 3

FRONTISPIECE: DEAN WALTER W. PETTIT

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL WORK ARLIEN JOHNSON 297

FEDERAL SERVICES FOR CHILDREN UNDER REORGANIZATION

MILDRED ARNOLD 309

EMPLOYMENT OF GRADUATES OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION HELEN R. WRIGHT 316

SOCIAL INSURANCE AND THE RIGHT TO ASSISTANCE . . . ROBERT M. BALL 331

MEDICAL CARE UNDER COMPULSORY SICKNESS INSURANCE IN GERMANY

CURT STEFFEN, M.D. 345

THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE VETERAN IN A DEMOCRACY

GEORGE W. EBEL 354

RELIEF SUPPLIES AND WELFARE DISTRIBUTION: U.N.R.R.A. IN RETROSPECT

W. HARDY WICKWAR 363

AMERICAN SOCIAL WELFARE HISTORY SELECT DOCUMENTS: THE WORK OF THOMAS H. GALLAUDET AND THE TEACHING OF THE DEAF

EDITH ABBOTT 375

PORTRAIT OF THOMAS HOPKINS GALLAUDET facing 376

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR:

"Statistics and Peace," 387.—The Right of Asylum, 388.—Our Own D.P. Problem, 390.—The War and the Marriage Rate, 390.—Working Mothers with Young Children, 391.—"A Child Is Hurt," 392.—Some Child Labor Gains, 393.—For Employment of the Handicapped, 394.—The I.L.O. in Geneva, 395.—"Military Justice," 395.—"Sheltered Workshop" Activity Increasing, 396.—Bootlegging of Babies in New York, 397.—Farewell to U.N.R.R.A., 398.—The U.N. and Child Welfare, 401.—The End of E.M.I.C., 402.—National Mental Health Program, 403.—Notes from the Professional Schools, 404.—The American Association of Social Workers, 407.—National Conference of Social Work, 1947, 408.—*In Memoriam*: Jacob Kepecs, 408; Helen Gregory MacGill, 409. *Letters to the Editor*: Marriage Guidance Council, by Jean Hodgson, 410; Social Workers and the Press, by Victor S. Yarros, 411

CARTOONS

Consulting Our Beginnings (Alexander in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*) 389
Mr. Low's View of UNRRA's Fate (*New York Times*) 399

BOOK REVIEWS

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1946 BENJAMIN E. YOUNGDAHL 414
Emma Octavia Lundberg, Unto the Least of These MARY RUTH COLBY 415

[Contents continued on following page]

Evelyn C. Adams, <i>American Indian Education</i>	LEWIS MERIAM	416
Charles Abrams, <i>The Future of Housing</i>	WAYNE McMILLEN	417
Allen Weir Freeman, <i>Five Million Patients: The Professional Life of a Health Officer</i> EDWIN F. DAILY, M.D.		418
George Lawton, <i>Aging Successfully</i>	MARY L. THOMPSON	418
Maurice R. Davie and Others, <i>Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration</i>	MARIAN SCHIBSBY	420
John Lewis Gillin, <i>The Wisconsin Prisoner: Studies in Crimogenesis</i>	HENRY COE LANPHER	422

BRIEF NOTICES

Laverne Burchfield, <i>Our Rural Communities</i> ; Madeline L. MacGregor, <i>Intercity Service in Travelers Aid</i> ; Clare de Gruchy, <i>Creative Old Age</i> ; Rosamond G. Roberts, <i>3000 Families Move To Make Room for Stuyvesant Town</i> ; American Public Health Association, Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, <i>An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing, Part II</i> ; American Prison Association, <i>Manual of Suggested Standards for a State Correctional System</i> ; Eleanor Wolf Thompson, <i>Education for Ladies, 1830-1860</i> ; John Lewis Gillin, <i>Social Pathology</i> (3d ed.); Susanne C. Engelmann, <i>German Education and Re-education</i> ; Sir Arthur S. MacNalty and W. Franklin Mellor, <i>Health Recovery in Europe</i>		423
--	--	-----

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

<i>13th Annual Report, New York City Housing Authority</i>	WAYNE McMILLEN	429
<i>National Housing Commission Act: Report to Accompany S. 866</i>	W. McM.	429
<i>Federal Prisons, 1946</i>	FRANK T. FLYNN	430
<i>South Carolina Department of Public Welfare, Ninth Annual Report, 1946</i>	LOIS GRATZ	432
<i>North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, Biennial Report, 1944-46</i> ELIZABETH WISNER		434
<i>Medical Care and Costs in Relation to Family Income: A Statistical Source Book</i> (Federal Security Agency)	W. McM.	434
<i>Teamwork in Community Services, 1941-46: Federal, State, and Local Cooperation</i> (Federal Security Agency)	W. McM.	435
<i>International Labour Conference, Director-General's Report, Geneva, 1947</i>		435

CONTRIBUTORS		436
------------------------	--	-----

416
417
418
418
420
422

*Developing needs of wartime services make this book a
necessary aid in the emergency social services*

SOCIAL CASE RECORDS *from* PSYCHIATRIC CLINICS

by Charlotte Towle

423
429
429
430
432

"Teachers, practitioners, and students of social work will all find this book of great value. It offers rather full primary source material on twelve case records from the specialized field of psychiatric case work. . . . The case records are well written and the case work approach is vital and dynamic. . . . Whether one agrees or disagrees in whole or in part with the actual handling of the cases presented, their value lies in the fact that the actual case work procedure is recorded, remarkably undistorted by the worker's interpretation, and in sufficient detail so that the reader may approach the cases with any one of a variety of case work philosophies, and interpret them accordingly."—ANNETTE GARRETT in *The Family*.

\$300

434
434
435
435
436

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

REVISED EDITION

The Standard Text and Reference Book

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

SELECT DOCUMENTS • By SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE

The last ten years have produced more new legislation in the field of public welfare than any other period in our history. Sweeping reorganizations have taken place in public welfare agencies, public attitudes, and procedures; and teachers have felt the need for current documents in their public welfare administration courses. The revision of this standard text now makes available a complete picture of the structural growth of nation-wide provision for the distressed.

"This book thus becomes even more indispensable as a text."—*The Welfare Bulletin*

1,229 pages, \$4.00

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

American Principles and Policies

VOLUME I • BY EDITH ABBOTT

HARRY ELMER BARNES, in the *Harvard Law Review*, says: "... there has been a real revolution in relief policies and practices since 1900. . . . Miss Abbott gives us a rich description of this revolution, and brings to it a thorough documentation."

MARIETTA STEVENSON, in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, says: "In the introductory part of each section, Miss Abbott expresses her own philosophy clearly and forcefully, giving the basis for her opinions. . . . This book is one of the most valuable contributions yet made to the literature of public welfare."

American Political Science Review says: "Professor Abbott has realized to the full that the literature of public welfare is both rich and voluminous, but that much of the richness lies unmined and difficult of access. In the present volume, she has turned to important sources of original material and has used them to illuminate a text that is both scholarly and interesting."

Volume I, 894 pages, including 194 pages of Miss Abbott's "Introductions," Select Documents, 671 pages \$4.50

Volume II (In preparation)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

Recently published

The COURTS and the POOR LAW in NEW YORK STATE, 1784-1929

By Martha Branscombe

The higher courts in the state of New York have dealt with the poor law in a large number of cases since the year 1784. This careful study of these judicial opinions serves as the basis for the history of poor relief legislation and administration in the state of New York, the problems confronting the local officials, the prevailing attitudes toward public relief and destitution, and the development of precedents, many of which have remained authoritative to the present day. In these opinions, judicial interpretation of the statutes, as well as the determination of innumerable local controversies, present a picture of the poor law in action and its failure to meet the needs of the destitute and the handicapped.

Social Service Monographs

426 pages, paper bound, \$2.50

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

Σ

a
a

ad
es
is
,"
at
ss
nt
ly

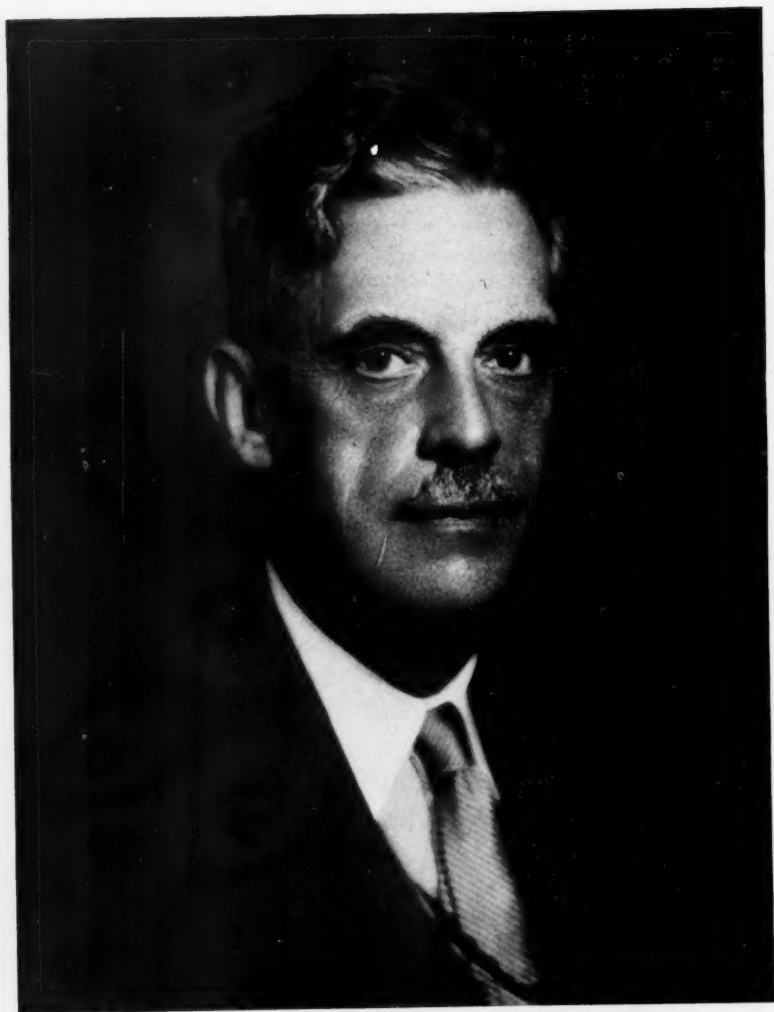
S

BU

52

50

S



DEAN WALTER W. PETTIT

(See pp. 405-6)

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Volume XXI

SEPTEMBER 1947

Number 3

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL WORK¹

ARLIEN JOHNSON

THIS is an age of contrasts and contradictions. We are meeting tonight in the city that two years ago was the birthplace of an old but ever new hope in the world—the hope of peace and order. For it was in San Francisco that delegates from every corner of the world met to form the United Nations Organization. By world organization we hoped to replace war with peace; by council-table discussions we hoped to substitute cool, scientific reasoning for hot, uncontrollable emotion.

Yet a year and eight months after the firing ceased on the battlefronts of the world we are still at war. "Violence Flares in Palestine" is a newspaper headline almost daily. "Civil war continues in China," the radio reports. But not all violence and not all civil war are fought with gunpowder and hand grenades. At home Congress is bitterly divided on foreign policy, on our relationship to Russia, and on how to handle the strife between the owners of wealth and the workers who produce wealth. The struggle is not limited to national affairs. On a Los Angeles street corner a woman distributes handbills to passers-by. They read, "Protest Arrest and Mass Trials of 1,000 Peaceful Hollywood Pickets. . . .

Attend the Mass Rally." Whether fought with firearms, arguments, or mass meetings, the war goes on.

To most of us the battles that continue in Palestine, India, Greece, and China are disturbing, but they do not strike fear into our hearts as directly as do the battles that are carried on in the halls of Congress or on the street corners of Los Angeles and New York. We fear this conflict among ourselves because we do not wholly understand it. The age that brought forth the greatest discovery for man since he learned the uses of fire—atomic energy—surely such an age should produce tranquillity as well. Instead, the overt expressions of hostility that surround us create a pervasive sense of apprehension that threatens to overshadow the inspiring vistas of a new world order which was represented in the formation of the United Nations Organization.

This paradox of organization and disorganization contending for supremacy in the world is not new. In every century we have had revolutions, both material and spiritual, which shook the foundations of accustomed law and order but which gave birth to new forms of social organization through which man has sought to express his social ideals. The global war of the twentieth century

¹ Presidential address at the National Conference of Social Work, San Francisco, April, 1947.

leaves us bewildered as divergent religious, racial, political, and economic ideologies are thrown into contact and conflict; but the vision of what might result from the fusion of these ideologies into "one world" surpasses the imagination.

The disorganization in the world at the present time, however, seems to be of unusually momentous portent. We are said to stand "at the crossroads of history." We live in an age of science. Accelerated research during the war led the physical sciences to push their investigations into the realms of the ultimate so that we stand in awe at the edge of revelation of the dynamics of the physical universe. It has been predicted that the next great advance will be in the biological sciences. There will still remain, however, the problem of harmonizing social facts revealed by science with social and spiritual values or group ideals by which life is made worth living. The gulf between social facts and social values today is so great that the scientists who wrote the basic formula on which the atomic bomb was calculated are alarmed at the use made of this knowledge and have formed an emergency committee to tell the world, in effect, that people must live together peaceably or face annihilation.

From every quarter we hear the warning to take heed or perish. In different words, but with the same essential meaning, the physical scientist, the social scientist, and the philosopher analyze the central problem of our times. The renowned scientist, Professor Albert Einstein, warns: "Science has brought forth this danger [the atomic bomb] but the real danger is in the minds and hearts of men. . . . It is easier to denature plutonium than it is to denature the evil spirit of man. . . . A new type of think-

ing is essential if mankind is to survive and move to higher levels."² Franz Alexander put it this way: "New group ideals are needed, a new hierarchy of social values adequate to the present phase of social and cultural development."³ And the philosopher, F. S. C. Northrop, in his brilliant analysis of the present dilemma, declares:

All of the major demoralization of our time and all of its vital political, moral, religious, aesthetic, and other issues arise from the fact that . . . old traditional normative social theories which our humanities still convey have turned out to be inadequate either to merit the loyalties of men or to solve the problems of our time.⁴

For when the scientific knowledge of these times has captured a man's mind, so that his intelligence tells him one thing and pushes him one way, and his emotions and habits attached to outmoded, incompatible scientific, philosophical, and theological doctrines push him another way, then he is a frustrated man, divided against himself. Such a man does not need to wait until after death to know what hell means.⁵

If we accept the statements of these scholars that we have moved on to a new science and that what we now require is a new philosophy that will integrate the outer and the inner world in which we live, what can be done about it? One solution frequently advanced is that the social sciences must catch up with the natural sciences before we can reconcile the contrasts and contradictions of our age. Without doubt the social sciences have lagged behind the rapidly accelerating realm of knowledge now embraced in

² "Only Then Shall We Find Courage," leaflet distributed by Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, 90 Nassau Street, Princeton, N.J. (no date).

³ *Our Age of Unreason* (New York: Lippincott, 1942), p. 315.

⁴ *The Meeting of East and West* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1946), p. 258.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 485.

the natural sciences. I would raise the question, however, of whether or not we are making use of knowledge from the social sciences which is really available. There are certain well-established social facts which, if widely known and accepted, could, I believe, help to resolve some of the confusion of this time.

Because of my conviction that knowledge about society, already at hand, is of utmost importance, I would like to present three basic assumptions which social work has utilized effectively. The first of these facts is that man's human nature has changed little in thousands of years, so that common human needs which can be stated persist through the years. The second well-authenticated fact is that cultures vary widely and change relatively rapidly, thus frequently not meeting man's common human needs. And, finally, I believe the methods of science can be applied to the study of human relations as well as to the study of the atom bomb.

Before elaborating upon these statements, I must first explain how social work has discovered and utilized these and other findings from the social sciences. Although a newcomer among the professions, social work has in common with all professions a twofold obligation. The first of these obligations is that the profession constantly seeks to utilize and enlarge the scientific knowledge relevant to its practice in order that the professional person may be as competent and as skilful as possible in the rendering of his service. At the same time, the professional man is close to the world of everyday life; the test of scientific knowledge is how it works when applied. Medicine, for example, has had the experience of finding that certain drugs which seemed useful in treatment of disease produced other effects on the patient which offset

the value of the original treatment. The professional man, therefore, is in daily contact with those "irreducible and stubborn facts" of firsthand observation which Whitehead describes as one of the origins of science. And always he must reconcile theoretical facts with actual facts of direct observation, in such a way that both kinds of facts best serve the interests of the whole person and further his welfare. The second obligation of any profession, therefore, is to have a concern that its knowledge and services are in the public interest. It must try to guarantee the competence of the individual practitioners or members, while at the same time drawing the entire membership into association for advancement of its common purpose in the interests of society. A profession at its best is driven to develop a philosophy which will define its usefulness in contemporary society. When this does not occur—and examples to the contrary will readily come to mind—then the group becomes divided within itself and retards rather than leads in progress. Let us now turn to social work and trace its development to learn what of significance it may have to contribute to our understanding of current problems.

The breaking-down of the social fabric, the breaking-down of authority because men no longer have faith in the old symbols, is a painful process. It was out of the needs of people during such periods of disorganization that social work first evolved as a service, apart from religion. Within the last thirty years social work has developed the distinctive hallmarks of a profession; and like the older professions it has begun to accumulate a body of knowledge and skills peculiar to the function it performs in society. That function was well described by Kenneth Pray in his presidential address last year as a service to people—individuals,

groups, and communities—to help them to realize for themselves the most satisfying social relationships possible and to find new, meaningful relations for the fulfillment of their wants. To put it in another way, social work helps people to deal with social facts in terms of social values. It also, as a profession, has the task of helping to create social welfare services in new forms to meet the changing times. The social worker, for example, administers aid to the needy aged in such a way as to help the aged person to live as well as possible within the limitations surrounding him. The professional association of social workers, however, bearing witness to the inadequacies of public assistance, urges the adoption of another social welfare measure, health insurance with medical care, in order that the infirm aged, among others, may be free from the haunting fear of untreated incapacity. It is this twofold obligation which social work has that seems to me to make it significant. One obligation is the constant search for competence in the rendering of its service; the other obligation is to see its service in relation to the social and economic needs of the people served.

It was with the second of these obligations that modern social work originated. Concern for the effect of certain conditions upon people preceded the development of a discipline that could be widely practiced and communicated by education. In order to make clear what I see as the contribution from social work knowledge, I must first distinguish three periods in the development of social work.

The first period arose out of the inadequacies and injustices that followed industrialization and made social reform and social experimentation inevitable. The rise of liberalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

meant an awakening of popular interest in the social control of the machines which produced sweatshops and slums. Great leaders whom we claim as pioneer social workers were among those who led the way in the revival of a social conscience in the United States. They sought to conquer poverty by social justice. These leaders founded settlements and helped to establish charity organization societies. They discovered by observation and inquiry the relationship between poverty and sickness, between juvenile delinquency and sordid environment. They helped to start movements which would prevent these harmful effects.

The liberalism of the early twentieth century also held high hopes for the ideals of democracy and found expression in such new agencies as community centers in the public school buildings and recreation field houses in the public parks. The beginning of social services for *all* the people rather than for the underprivileged part of the population could be discerned. This was the period when "organized charity" was becoming transformed into "organized social work." It was the "decade of confidence" (1900–1910), when the individual leadership of men and women whose minds and hearts were sensitive to the world around them was pre-eminent. They were inspired to believe, according to Edward Devine, that

even ancient wrongs could be righted; that natural resources could be conserved and exploited for the common good; that the civil service could be reformed by competitive examination and a secure tenure for the competent; that international co-operation for the general good could be indefinitely extended; that education is the ultimate cure for everything that needs to be cured. This was the prevailing faith.⁶

⁶ *When Social Work Was Young* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), p. 5.

Under such leadership our profession was founded. The work of these men and women was motivated by deep conviction about the worth-whileness of what they were doing. They had to devise the measures that would meet the personal and social needs of people, and they learned by doing. But giving meaning and unity to their efforts was a philosophy as to the purpose of their activity in relation to the larger social problems of the period.

It was doubtless inevitable that with the passage of time the social institutions thus developed should be widely accepted and spread from city to city. Attention was turned to refining the ways in which people were given service. Methods and techniques began to be discussed. This trend became very important in the 1920's and marked a second period in the development of social work.

The soil in which social work found itself after World War I, however, was of very different quality from that of the early part of the century. As one scholar describes the postwar period: "The green fields shriveled in an afternoon. With the cynicism that came with postwar days the democratic liberalism of 1917 was thrown away like an empty whiskey-flask. Clever young men began to make merry over democracy."⁷ The psychiatrists tell us that when the external world is harsh and disillusioning we sometimes turn our attention inward, to introspective examination of ourselves. This would seem to be what happened in social work in the decade following World War I. Aided by the rapidly growing body of knowledge in psychology and psychiatry, whose importance was discovered during the war, social workers

gave their attention to the problems of individual behavior and to the methods and techniques of helping people in their personality development. It was also a time when communities were applying some of the efficient methods of wartime money-raising to peacetime organization. New forms of social machinery for planning together began to appear.

The 1920's was a period of growing consciousness among the practitioners of social work that they were evolving a professional discipline. Literature analyzing this discipline grew in volume. The next step was recognition of their common bonds and the formation of professional associations. In addition to medical and psychiatric associations, an over-all organization, the American Association of Social Workers, was formed in 1921. At the same time, the communication of knowledge and skills through education had been rapidly expanding, and about this time an association of professional schools was organized, now the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

We might summarize by saying that the 1920's saw the emergence of a professional discipline in social work. It undertook to develop competence in practitioners by applying findings from the social sciences, especially psychiatry, to the study of personality. This represented, in many ways, a narrowing of concern about the material with which social workers were engaged. On the whole, they were preoccupied at this period with individual welfare and with methods of helping people to make adjustments to the social situations in which they found themselves. Since voluntary social work was predominant in influence, social work in this form was practiced mostly in cities.

The third period in the development of

⁷ Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930), III, 412.

social work which I wish to distinguish covers the last fifteen years. A prolonged economic depression and five years of global war have again changed the soil for professional growth. The technological changes that have followed scientific advance and the greatly facilitated means of communication have led to fundamental interdependence among people. While changes in social arrangements have lagged behind technological changes, we can discern a halting recognition that a good society can exist only when there is a minimum of security for all men and women, when protection from the common hazards of dependent old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment is provided, and when the right to earn enough to live in decency and health is insured.

This emerging acceptance of a new concept of public welfare and the conditions of widespread suffering and social disorganization which induced it brought fast-moving demands for social services that left little time for professional introspection. Positions requiring the services of social workers doubled and almost tripled in a decade and a half. The balance of power in both funds and programs has shifted from voluntary to official agencies. With the acceptance by government of social services as a permanent function has come a greatly expanded range of services and of personnel. No longer is social work an urban phenomenon, and no longer is it limited to the "poor" people of the community. Some leaders in the field who had never lost the philosophy of the larger purpose of social work, leaders like Miss Breckinridge and Edith and Grace Abbott, had long pointed out that social workers should be satisfied with "nothing less than a universal provision for a continuous service. And only the state can

be both universal and continuous." Under these conditions the concept of individual adjustment to existing conditions is inadequate. Social work, while retaining its competence in helping the individual, has embraced the idea that only through mass welfare can the individual find proper conditions for growth and development.

The growth in the volume of social services and their administration by governmental agencies, under conditions of rapid social change, have brought new responsibilities and new opportunities for social work. The heritage of its origin in the early part of the century, when social experimentation was prevalent, has now been combined with the technical competence of a professional discipline which has been developed since World War I. This professional discipline has been developed from the application of the findings of psychiatry and other social sciences and continues steadily to grow through constant efforts to utilize relevant findings from these sciences. Imperfect as is the result, I believe that some of the basic assumptions from the social sciences which have helped social workers to develop competence in helping people with problems of social relationships have vital meaning for society in the present period of world confusion.

The first of these assumptions based on the social sciences to which I wish to direct attention is that man's inherited human nature has changed little in thousands of years, so that *common human needs persist*. The biologists, psychologists, and anthropologists have produced a wealth of facts that document this statement. All life is dynamic. Conflicting forces, driving man to growth and to resistance to change, contend in everyone from birth. On the one hand, we have great need to be dependent upon others;

and, on the other hand, we struggle to assert our independence and uniqueness as individuals.

Social workers have been impressed with the relevance of these facts as they have tried to help people develop satisfying personal relationships and socially useful lives. The need of the child for love and security finds its answer in a family group whose affectional ties are strong and continuous. Neither economic status nor race affects this common human need. The rich man's child, with every physical want met, can still become a neglected "problem child" if his parents do not have time or inclination to give him love and affection. An adult or even a family group which migrates from one community to another without ever having opportunity for the give-and-take of neighborhood life, for dependence upon the friendliness of neighbors, similarly may become a "problem" to society. Response from one's fellows, acceptance by them, and some interdependence of living is a basic human need.

One of the most convincing pieces of evidence of the truth of this statement is to be found in the research of the Harvard School of Business Administration. After twenty-five years of careful observation and experimentation, they report that productivity of workers in industry depends far more upon the workers' satisfaction in co-operative activity in well-knit human groups than it does upon economic incentives. The success or failure of an individual on the job is more closely related to his ability to form co-operative social relationships with his fellow-workers than it is related to the degree of his technical skills.

The recognition of this basic human need for teamwork with others in mutual endeavor is the keystone upon which so-

cial group work has been developed within our generation. Its application of social skills in group relationships has, in turn, made a contribution to social work with individuals and with communities in their intergroup relationships.

Now let us examine the second aspect of common human needs, the need an individual has to be a person, to be respected for his individual worth, to be independent of others. While a child must have the love and security that come from strong and continuous affectional ties, he must also have an opportunity to detach himself eventually from excessive dependence upon such ties. This duty of the family to give the child support in his dependent needs while at the same time preparing him to become independent is a complex one that many modern families have failed to achieve. For, while modern science and technology have produced conditions of living that remove from the family many of its former economic, educational, and religious functions, old attitudes and ideas persist which prevent family life from acceptably taking new forms. We punish parents for the delinquency of their children, but we do not know how to help them meet the needs of their children under modern conditions of living. We insist that the mores of the eighteenth century still apply to family organization in the twentieth century.

Social workers deal with the failures of the family to function effectively. They have learned to respect the individual in his striving to find self-expression in a complex environment. Concepts from psychiatry have been useful in helping social workers to analyze family problems and in some measure to help members of the family to find release from frustrations so they can function in a responsible manner. Social anthropologists

also have findings that may help us to understand and strengthen family life, but to date we have made limited application of such knowledge.

The common human striving for independence finds expression also in man's desire to learn, to grow, to create, and to enjoy the nonmaterial beauty of life, which is strong in human nature. From childhood on, a person needs to have a task to do that is within his capacity, and he needs to have the opportunity to do it. Work that is repetitive, monotonous, in this machine age; or long hours of labor that give a return barely sufficient for existence; or, even more serious, inability to find a job to do—such situations produce frustrations that result in aggressive behavior or in the opposite kind of behavior, where a man ceases to struggle against odds and is willing to become completely dependent upon society. A nation that does not take account of the common human need for independence and does not provide satisfying forms of expression can expect to produce propagandists who project upon society their personal hostilities bred of deprivation.

Truly, common human needs persist throughout the ages. One such need—man's need for dependence and for independence—has been well established in psychiatry. Social work has tested this knowledge through day-by-day observation and application in helping people with problems of social relationships and has added the corollary that every individual has different potentialities for growth and development. These potentialities can be realized only as people have conditions conducive to such growth. Since personal and social growth are interdependent, opportunities for both must be provided. Acceptance of this point of view makes for tolerance, for willingness that everyone, regardless of

skin, color, religion, or customs, should have opportunity to liberate his powers and engage in activities "that enlarge the meaning of life." Social workers learned early that "happiness" cannot be given to another person like a physical possession. As John Dewey pointed out long ago, we can help others to find happiness only as we "foster conditions that widen the horizon of others and give them command of their own powers, so that they can find their happiness in their own fashion." Otherwise, he says, the prayer of a freeman would be to be left alone and "to be delivered, above all, from reformers and 'kind' people."⁸

What meaning do these conclusions have when applied to the larger social scene? It would seem to me that recognition of man's need for dependence and independence would do away with the argument about freedom and security as if they were alternative choices of economic and political action. Freedom is necessary for that independence which is a mainspring of human conduct. It permits initiative, new experience, and creative thinking. But unlimited freedom is self-destruction, either of an individual or of a nation. For we have seen that the child cannot grow to mature adulthood, the worker cannot be at his productive best, without dependence upon others. Co-operative activity in well-knit human groups is also a mainspring of human conduct. The lesson would seem to be clear. Security implies the fostering of conditions under which man can have opportunity to provide for his basic physical needs and at the same time a degree of freedom for individual growth. Freedom and security are not opposites but are parts of a whole.

⁸ *Human Nature and Conduct* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1922), p. 294.

There is a second assumption that social work has derived from the social sciences which gives insight into social relationships. In a sense it is the opposite of the first assumption which we have been considering. For, whereas common human needs persist throughout the ages, *culture varies widely and changes rapidly*. Significant physical differences between people are few, while differences in customs are multiple in variety. The anthropologist and sociologist tell us that these differences in customs are "learned behavior." They have meaning and value to the group to whom they belong, but they cannot be evaluated as "inferior" or "superior" except in terms of values which each group attaches to its own culture. Only by understanding the other person and his culture can we communicate intelligently with him. In making application of this knowledge, the social worker accepts as a primary principle that he should be nonjudgmental if he is to be free to gain objective insight and understanding of behavior.

When one understands another person, one cannot hate him. One may disagree with the values the other person holds while appreciating the reasons why he holds those values. Race prejudice and cultural tensions, so widespread at the present time, would seem to stem from lack of understanding and fear of difference. It has been well said that "conflict grows fat on fear." Yet the knowledge now available from anthropology, psychology, and sociology about races and cultures is sufficient, if understood and accepted rationally, to dissipate fear and discrimination, just as knowledge of the operation of natural laws has dissipated superstition and put in their proper place such phenomena as rainbows and eclipses of the sun.

Within the United States so-called

"minority groups" have been stereotyped. Certain behavior is expected of them because they belong to a particular group. The studies of social scientists, on the contrary, reveal that within each group is a wide range of behavior and that certain reactions are usually the result of occupational stratification, geographical segregation, and discriminatory treatment by the majority group. By such treatment of others white people perpetuate their own emotional immaturity. Here is a needless tragedy in human relationships.

Their own observations, supported by this kind of knowledge from the social sciences with respect to races and cultures, has led social workers to affirm the rights of *all* people to equal opportunities for education, for earning a living, and for participation in the life of the community. So deep seated is the prejudice against variation and so widespread is the value placed upon uniformity in the United States, however, that segregation by skin color persists in all parts of the country, regardless of individual attainments. This is, indeed, a sad reflection upon the age of science, which holds high in esteem the findings of the physical sciences while denying the facts provided by the social sciences.

Philosophers and scientists have for some time been telling us that the phenomenally rapid changes in our technology which have resulted from new knowledge in the natural sciences would require corresponding changes in our social institutions and ideologies. The speed with which the technological changes have come leaves us uncertain of how to adapt them to our uses. Perhaps the philosopher gives us a clue when he says that "successful organisms modify their environment. These organisms are successful which modify their environ-

ments so as to assist each other.”⁹ This principle prevails in the physical sciences where association between electrons and nuclei are characteristic of matter, and the principle prevails in the whole realm of animate nature where equilibrium is attained by the mutual co-operation of different species. What is the significance, then, of this principle for us? The problem would seem to be how to help people co-operate in modifying the environment so as to utilize modern technology for the support of our common human needs.

Modern technology places great emphasis upon production and upon perfecting the machinery of production so that less and less manpower is required. Yet this goal of our civilization destroys opportunities for men to work. Thus we are faced with the dilemma of man's inherent need for independent, creative work to do in an age when unemployment is his reward for our rapidly changing culture. Instead of the machine freeing us from the chores of material existence, the machine has become our master. Social workers are familiar with the aged person who can no longer find a place in industry but whose whole interest in life has been centered in earning a living. Without work, such persons have no interests, their lives are barren, they become preoccupied with their physical ills, they seek without finding.

The weight given to material achievement in the United States is “learned behavior.” If permitted, children would readily acquire new social values. The potential plenty in the world might be used not only to give man creative work to do but also to enable him to practice the art of living. An educator recounts how a substitute teacher took a fifth-grade class in arithmetic. In an effort to

find where the class was in its work, he proposed this problem to them. “Frank and Bill were taking a hike one Saturday afternoon, and about four o'clock they passed a bakery which had some doughnuts in the window bearing the sign ‘thirty cents a dozen.’ Frank had ten cents and Bill had a nickel so they were able to buy half-a-dozen doughnuts. Now, how many doughnuts should Frank get and how many should Bill receive?” One child raised his hand to ask who was host and who was guest; another child asked who was hungrier. This went on until the seventh pupil suggested that the doughnuts be divided on the basis of the amount of money each boy had spent. This would seem to illustrate that economic problems depend for solution upon the assumptions people hold regarding social life!

The lag between technology and the social values by which we measure what is worthwhile in life is a subject of much current concern and interest. As I have pointed out, scientists and philosophers alike are telling us that we must find a different scale of values appropriate to this age of science. The chancellor of the University of Chicago, among others, believes that hope lies in adult education by means of which people will begin to appreciate those values that come from the study of other cultures, art forms, and religious expressions. Such education, we would hope, might produce a tolerance for difference. World understanding would be mightily furthered. Human energy could also be turned, with social approval, toward all those human services that make for the enjoyment of life—teaching, healing, social service, and artistic expression in many forms.

In concluding this discussion of the second assumption that social work has derived from the social sciences—the

⁹ Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926), p. 296.

fact that culture varies widely and changes rapidly—may I venture to express my faith in the contribution which social work, among other professions, might make toward helping bridge the gap between social facts and social values. As I have previously pointed out, a profession is in constant touch with the realities of existence and must constantly strive to utilize and enlarge those scientific findings that are relevant to its practice. Social work has for many years tried to further co-operation among people for the improvement of social and living conditions. Such devices as councils of social agencies and neighborhood councils have had as their purpose the co-ordination and improvement of welfare activities in communities. Only recently has much attention been given to the social process thus involved and to the analysis of methods by which associative activities are furthered. Mary Parker Follett's research applied to industry and the work of others have revealed how conflict can be resolved and co-operation made possible. Social work has dimly glimpsed the tremendous significance of social intergroup or community organization work as a service utilizing the same body of principles and skills that apply to helping individuals with their problems of social relationships. The urgency of the need for this service in the world today should inspire social workers to new efforts to define the content and method of community organization work. This is a challenge equal in magnitude to that which motivated the founders of our profession when they led the way in the early twentieth century in combating the effects of industrialization. To enable people to "think together and evolve workable judgments" in the interests of the larger society is to help them to achieve a more

abundant life, individually and collectively.

The two basic assumptions already discussed—that common human needs persist throughout the ages while cultures vary widely and change rapidly—are merely examples of the kind of knowledge which is available and of which social work has made use in the development of a professional discipline. Such knowledge, if more generally understood, accepted, and applied, could do much to improve social relationships and to bridge the gap between facts and values. Some of the contrasts and contradictions of our age could disappear if our learned behavior were changed to harmonize with the known empirical knowledge which science has provided. To be sure, the knowledge from the natural sciences has outstripped the knowledge from the social sciences. My plea is that, imperfect as the knowledge is, we make use of it and encourage its growth.

The third basic assumption I would mention is that the methods of science can be applied to the study of human relations. Any profession, by its *raison d'être*, is forced to use the scientific method of analysis and thought. The "stubborn, irreducible facts" of daily observation require that a person rendering a professional service measure his observations against all known empirical data. Social work, a fledgling among the professions, has developed a distinctive method of helping individuals (social case work) which is generally recognized. Social work has also undertaken to understand and help groups and communities to find release of energy and self-expression in achieving their objectives. The method with groups is much less well developed than with individuals, but already we discern a body of knowledge and skills that is common in work with

individuals, groups, and communities. The knowledge is incomplete; the methods are evolving. But, consciously, social work has added to its own subject-matter findings from the social sciences to enlarge its theoretical base and to give support to a scientific approach to problems of human relationships. This calls for willingness to follow the "remorseless inevitableness" of the facts, as revealed by disciplined observation, and to apply the facts with a consideration for their meaning with respect to the welfare of the total person, or community.

It seems to me that this effort on the part of social workers to work intelligently at the problems of human relationships and to make their service of greatest usefulness inevitably brings them into the forefront of social change. They cannot, from firsthand knowledge, be aware of social injustice without making the facts known. Where the social institution, such as the economic order, prevents men, willing and eager to work, from securing such opportunities, then social workers must bear witness to these conditions. It cannot keep silent when children are growing up without parental love and guidance. It must make known the necessity for minority groups to have opportunities to live without fear of unjust discrimination. Social work, if it follows the dictates of the scientific method, must advocate changes in our social institutions which will meet the changing times.

Any person or profession which tries to change irrational feelings of people toward fellow human beings is not likely to become popular. Social work is one of those professions which will best serve its purpose if it keeps its integrity—the integrity of patiently, painstakingly working at the problems of social rela-

tionships and making its findings known to the wider public, which must, in the last analysis, implement such findings if they are to have broad significance.

It is easier to accustom ourselves to traveling by airplanes that skim through the stratosphere than it is to change our attitude about having a person of another skin color live in the house next door as a neighbor, even though he be our equal in education and income. Attitudes are often wholly irrational—"pre-scientific thoughtways regarding our social relations," Lundberg calls them.¹⁰ Unless we can learn to use the method of thinking applied to human society that the modern natural sciences have applied to physical phenomena, we shall not make progress in bridging the gap between the world of men and the physical universe, which together form the whole of reality. We have mistaken some of the technological developments, such as rockets to the moon and atomic bombs, for science. They are only man's misuse of basic scientific knowledge. The physical sciences form only one aspect of reality. The other aspect is the study of society, the world of human aspiration for self-expression, of man's unending search for "the good life" with his fellows. Until we apply the same method of scientific thought to both aspects of reality, the physical and the social, we shall not resolve the confusion and fear that surround us. When we can apply knowledge from the social sciences to problems of human relationships, then—and only then—shall our hopes for peace and order in the world be realized.

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

¹⁰ George A. Lundberg, *Can Science Save Us?* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947), p. 13.

FEDERAL SERVICES FOR CHILDREN UNDER REORGANIZATION*

MILDRED ARNOLD

THE last decade has brought a growing recognition of public responsibility for the general health and security of the population and great expansion of the activities of the federal government in these fields. Because of this, many reasons were advanced for the closer association of the United States Children's Bureau with agencies responsible for health and social security activities of the government and with the educational services that were so closely related to the programs of the Bureau. Finally, on July 16, 1946, the Children's Bureau, minus its child labor functions, was transferred to the Federal Security Agency.

For many years, the members of this conference will recall, the Bureau was the only branch of the government giving special consideration to the health of mothers and children and the only federal agency concerned with problems and programs in what is now known as the field of social welfare.

Some of you will remember the early history of the Children's Bureau. In 1915 it conducted infant-mortality studies concerned with the social, economic, and health factors in deaths among children under one year of age in ten cities. During these early years it also began its work in the field of social service with studies of mentally deficient children and various phases of child dependency. The juvenile court and mothers' pension movements got under way within the

Bureau's first decade, so it was quite logical that it should make field studies and issue a number of publications dealing with these subjects. For some years after 1915 there was much interest in co-ordinating and improving legislation relating to children, and the Bureau was called upon to furnish information on the content of children's laws and to serve as a medium for exchange of information among the various states having state commissions on legislation. Important work was done in relation to county organization for child care and protection and in the formulation of standards for various kinds of child welfare services.

The Children's Bureau did pioneer work in developing federal-aid programs for medical and hospital care for mothers and babies during the twenties. It played an important part in the movement leading to the authorization of funds for the relief of unemployment, and later in the development of the social security program during the 1930's.

Government responsibilities in the field of social welfare grew enormously under the Social Security Act. So did responsibility for health services. Beginning in the early twenties, agitation for the co-ordination of the federal activities in the field of health under a single federal agency began. There was much interest in the pros and cons of transferring the health functions of the Children's Bureau to the United States Public Health Service. In these discussions women's and labor organizations and professional groups repeatedly pointed out that the

* A paper given at the National Conference of Social Work, San Francisco, April, 1947.

Children's Bureau was performing essential pioneer services, that a correlated approach to all phases of child life was needed, and that the importance of a central place in the federal government to which citizens could turn for information on children was such as to make it imperative that the Bureau be maintained as an agency concerned with all aspects of child life.

Beginning in the middle thirties, demands were also made for the centralization of welfare activities into one federal agency. With the development of extensive programs of grants to state agencies for health and welfare services, the advocates of greater integration of these activities became more insistent and the emphasis changed. Why could not education, health, and welfare activities be brought together within one agency with broad responsibilities in these closely related fields? At the same time, many individuals, in and out of government, urged that the Children's Bureau be continued as an agency with broad powers of both research and administration.

And so we come to the Reorganization Act of 1945, passed in December of that year. It was then that Congress passed an act giving President Truman wide powers to reorganize the federal government. Using the authority vested in the president under the Reorganization Act, President Truman transmitted three governmental reorganization plans to Congress on May 16, 1946.

Reorganization Plan No. 2 included transfer of the Children's Bureau and its functions to the Federal Security Agency, except for its Industrial Division and the Bureau's functions relating to child labor administration under the Fair Labor Standards Act. The plan provided for the transfer of the functions of the secretary of labor and the Children's

Bureau under Title V of the Social Security Act to the Federal Security Administrator.

In other words, nothing was specifically reserved to the Children's Bureau except the power to investigate and report on matters related to child life contained in the Act of 1912 creating the Bureau.

In his message to Congress accompanying his executive order, President Truman said: "The Children's Bureau . . . exclusive of its Industrial Division, is transferred to the Federal Security Agency. The plan continues the Children's Bureau within the Federal Security Agency to deal with the problems of child life, but is flexible enough to enable the administrator to gear in the Bureau's program effectively with other activities of the Agency."

At the same time President Truman said that at a later date it was his intention to ask the Congress to set up a cabinet department including health, welfare, and education. President Truman's reorganization plans went into effect on July 16, 1946.

The same reorganization plan which transferred the Children's Bureau abolished the Social Security Board, transferring its functions to the Federal Security Administrator, and made various other changes.

Immediately after reorganization, the Federal Security Administrator created four main operating branches of the Federal Security Agency: Social Security Administration; Education; Health and Medical Care; and Special Services, within which the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and the Food and Drug Administration are located. Two new staff offices were created, one dealing with Federal-State Relations and the other with Inter-agency and International Relations.

T
with
tion
dele
Secu
sion
Bur
funa
chil
S
sion
"Re
Age
T
Chil
Ager
with
Ager
tion,
peop
tinuo
in th
In
ogni
dren
and
reau
with
the
R
tain
tran
Fed
Bur
wor
clos
Pre
with
Serv
Voc
con
stre
regi
"
Secu
can

The Children's Bureau was placed within the Social Security Administration and administers grants to states by delegation of authority from the Federal Security Administrator and the Commissioner for Social Security. The Children's Bureau now exercises all its previous functions except those with reference to child labor.

Soon after the transfer the Commissioner for Social Security in an article on "Reorganization of the Federal Security Agency" said:

The great advantage of the transfer of the Children's Bureau to the Federal Security Agency is that it is brought in closer contact with the other programs of the Federal Security Agency designed to promote the health, education, welfare, and security of the American people . . . the Children's Bureau will continue to discharge the same functions as formerly in the fields of health and welfare.²

In the same article, Mr. Altmeyer recognized that the interests of the Children's Bureau transcend both divisional and departmental lines and that the Bureau must have freedom of direct contact with the other units of the Agency and the other departments of government.

Reorganization always involves certain problems of readjustment. The transfer of the Children's Bureau to the Federal Security Agency brought the Bureau into closer relation to the general work of the Agency and particularly closer to the Bureau of Public Assistance. Previously existing close relationships with the United States Public Health Service, the Office of Education, and the Vocational Rehabilitation Service were continued and in certain respects strengthened. The Children's Bureau regional staffs became part of the region-

al staffs of the Social Security Administration.

These were the gains—and important gains they were. There is danger, too, that there will be some losses. When Reorganization Plan No. 2 went into effect, the Industrial Division of the Children's Bureau, which was responsible for research and advisory service in the field of child labor and youth employment and for the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, was left in the Department of Labor. Its name was changed, and it became the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch of the Division of Labor Standards. Serious losses to children will result from the separation of the child labor work from the Children's Bureau, in spite of the desire of both the Bureau and the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch to maintain close working relationships.

As was pointed out previously, the Children's Bureau's investigating and reporting functions under the Act of 1912 creating the Bureau remain intact, and they continue to include child labor and youth employment. No funds are now available, however, to the Children's Bureau for work in this important field. What the future holds for such activities will depend upon developments in the Department of Labor and upon other circumstances.

Physically, the Children's Bureau remained in the Department of Labor Building until early in February, 1947. It is now housed in the Social Security Building. It is hoped that this building and its twin across the street will soon house the main offices of not only the Social Security Administration but also the Office of Education, the Public Health Service, the Food and Drug Administration, and the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. The housing of these

² A. J. Altmeyer, "Reorganization of the Federal Security Agency," *Compass: Journal of the American Association of Social Workers*, November, 1946.

services together will greatly facilitate the co-ordination of their activities.

The work of the federal government in the fields of health, education, social security, and social welfare will be greatly strengthened if, as proposed by pending legislation, a department of health, education, and security is created with a broad mandate to promote the welfare of the people of the United States. Such a department would, of course, absorb the functions of the Federal Security Agency.

Actually, of course, many federal agencies, in addition to the Federal Security Agency, are interested in particular aspects of welfare. Such activities of the Department of Agriculture as those of its Extension Service, the administration of federal aid for school lunches, and the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics are closely related to services of the Federal Security Agency. The Department of Justice performs services in the fields of law enforcement and correctional treatment, including the care of juveniles violating federal laws and committed for institutional care. The Department of the Interior includes within its functions activities relating to the health and welfare of the Indians and to recreation through the work of the National Park Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service. The Veterans Administration has large responsibilities affecting the security, health, education, and welfare of veterans and their families. The interests of the Children's Bureau and other offices of the Federal Security Agency bring them into touch with all these activities. Obviously much of the effort to co-ordinate all the services of the federal government whose work affects the health, education, employment, and welfare of children and youth will de-

pend upon the co-operative action of many government agencies.

It was fortunate for the program of the Children's Bureau that immediately after reorganization took place the Bureau was given increased resources for grants to states under amendments to the Social Security Act adopted in August, 1946. These amendments were made following hearings on bills proposing much more comprehensive programs of maternal and child health, care of crippled children, and child welfare services. The Congress recognized the importance of going forward in these fields of health and welfare but was not ready to enact the broader measures, which would have made it possible to develop state-wide programs in every state, until it could give fuller consideration to these and related matters. The amendments practically doubled the amount of money formerly authorized. With the additional funds the states are extending their programs both geographically and with respect to the types of service given and the children reached.

What can the increased grants under Title V of the Social Security Act mean to children in the United States? What about child welfare services? The amount for grants to the states for child welfare services was increased from \$1,510,000 to \$3,500,000, and the Virgin Islands were brought into the program for the first time.

This increase represented a concern for the welfare of children who are the special responsibility of public welfare agencies, a conviction that these services needed to be extended and strengthened, and a confidence in the state welfare agencies to which these funds were granted.

Much can be done in the forty-eight

states and four territories with these increased funds for children who do not have adequate homes, who have developed behavior problems, who are neglected or abused or abandoned, who carry the problems related to birth out of wedlock, and for the many thousands of others. But these children cannot be served without workers, adequate both in number and in training, to carry social services into the far corners of the country. And so the most crying need at the present time is for the recruitment of persons for training in social work.

For this reason, as soon as the increased funds for child welfare services were made available, the state welfare agencies were urged to plan an immediate expansion of their educational-leave programs. Their response to this suggestion was most gratifying. In four months forty-four states submitted amendments to their plans.

There was a marked emphasis, in these amendments, on efforts to strengthen the staff of the agencies. This was done in a variety of ways. More educational leave was made available to staff members of state welfare agencies. Several states increased the amount of the monthly stipend granted for such leave. Others increased the period of training from six to nine months. More and more states are making use of the classification of child welfare worker-in-training, usually under a plan providing for an orientation period in the state agency, followed by a period of training in a school of social work. Several states made provision for a supervisor of staff development, thus strengthening their on-the-job training.

The increased funds will enable the states to provide child welfare services in more of the local areas, particularly the

rural areas where most of our children live. Since only one out of six counties in the country has the services of a full-time child welfare worker paid from public funds, this expansion is urgently needed. The funds will not only provide more local workers, but they will enable states to strengthen supervision of these workers. They will also be used to provide better state consultation services to develop standards and to see that these standards are applied equitably throughout the state.

The states will be able to use the increased funds for special projects to help meet the particular needs within a state and to demonstrate services which might be developed in order to lay the foundation for broader public welfare resources.

Some of the special projects which the states are developing are (1) subsidized boarding-homes to meet particular needs, such as detention or shelter care, (2) homemaker service, and (3) special services for certain cases of unmarried mothers, nonresident children, and children needing care pending adoption.

The increased funds made available by the 1946 amendments for maternal and child health services and services to crippled children are already paying off in an orderly and much-needed expansion of health and medical services to mothers and children.

To state agencies administering services to crippled children, the increase in federal appropriations from \$3,800,000 to \$7,500,000 in 1947 means, first, a larger basic grant to be matched by state and local funds. Then, it means greater sums to be apportioned among the states on the basis of need and the number of children requiring care. Above all, and most important, it means that states with limited financial resources may ex-

tend services to children not previously reached or may expand their programs to include care for children with crippling conditions such as rheumatic fever, cerebral palsy, and hearing defects.

In most states, funds for services to crippled children—both federal grants and money from state and local sources—have been inadequate to provide children with the medical and hospital care they needed upon diagnosis of their difficulty. Over twenty thousand crippled children on state registers were awaiting medical and hospital care in states which did not have enough money to provide treatment or where hospital facilities were limited and the number of qualified physicians was so small that prompt correction of defects was impossible.

The increased funds for services to crippled children will now make it possible for states to provide the necessary medical care and related services more quickly. Case-finding and locating of crippled children can be strengthened in many areas of most states. Renewed emphasis can be placed upon prevention of crippling conditions by programs of health supervision and pediatric care.

To state agencies administering maternal and child health services, the 1946 amendments increased appropriations from \$5,820,000 to \$11,000,000. Here, too, this increase means not only larger basic grants to be matched by state and local funds and larger sums to be apportioned on the basis of the states' per capita income and need for services but more money for training personnel and for developing special programs of service to mothers and children.

Most state funds for prenatal clinics and well-child conferences have never been large enough to provide a program of health supervision and medical care to mothers and sick children who require

such care except in a few areas of great need. Even the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care program, which has served over a million wives and infants of servicemen since its beginning in 1943, was only a step toward the kind of care that we wish for all mothers and children.

To both programs, increased appropriations mean that a greater number of physicians, nurses, medical social workers, and other professional groups closely concerned with the health of mothers and children may receive graduate professional training. They will make possible also the sound development of special projects in the health field by which existing services may be expanded. Foremost among these special projects are training programs in (1) care of prematurely born infants, (2) obstetrical and pediatric nursing, (3) medical social work, (4) maternal and child health services, and (5) dentistry for children.

At the time this is being written, the Children's Bureau has been a new member of the Federal Security Agency only nine months, yet important steps have been taken in that brief period of time. A number of administrative studies are under way to determine how greater coordination of programs and services can be accomplished among the various units of the Federal Security Agency. A review of the various aspects of the grant-in-aid programs is being made to facilitate the development of general policies, standards, and procedures affecting all phases of these programs. There has been active co-operation of the Agency and its units with other governmental agencies working in related fields. Important in this area of activity has been (1) participation in the National Conference for the Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency and for the follow-up of the Conference, in consulta-

tion with the Department of Justice and (2) development of a strong program of co-operation in the work of the United Nations.

Perhaps one of the most important results of reorganization has been joint planning for legislation in the health and welfare fields. In the welfare field the next important step to be taken is a comprehensive program of public welfare services to all people in need of such services. Recommendations of the Federal Security Agency for such legislation will now take into account the experience of

the Children's Bureau as well as that of offices within the Agency prior to reorganization.

Action by the last Congress gave us an opportunity to go forward, as a nation, on behalf of children. But there is still much to be done if we are to advance on the path which leads to the time when no child in need of special help will lack suitable care and protection. We can afford nothing less. We can accept nothing less for all the children in our country.

SOCIAL SERVICE DIVISION
UNITED STATES CHILDREN'S BUREAU

EMPLOYMENT OF GRADUATES OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION¹

HELEN R. WRIGHT

WHAT happens to the graduates of a school of social service? Do they remain in the field of social welfare? To what kinds of positions do they go and what salaries do they command on leaving the professional school after they have obtained the A.M. degree? What are the opportunities for advancement both professionally and economically? What leadership do graduates give to the profession they have chosen? These and similar questions are asked an administrator of a school of social service almost daily. Probably every one in such a school has some ability to answer these questions. The opportunities for beginners are known; the work histories of many of the graduates can be called to mind. Frequently, however, the desire for more precise knowledge arises, knowledge based less on memory than may retain only the better records than on quantitative data which are not only more reliable but more convincing.

It was to meet this desire that, in December, 1945, and January, 1946, the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago sent out a questionnaire to 757 persons who had received its A.M. degree between 1932 and 1942.² By May, 1946, schedules had

¹ Grateful acknowledgment is made to the 505 former students who returned questionnaires and to Evelyn Lipkin and Martha Feibush, who helped in coding, tabulating, and organizing the data.

² The number actually receiving the degree in this period was slightly greater than this figure. A number had died, and schedules were not sent to members of our faculty as students were working with the material.

been returned by 505, almost 70 per cent of the graduates. It is the data from these schedules that are analyzed in this report.

A question immediately arises with regard to whether the 70 per cent reporting are representative of the entire group. It might be expected perhaps that graduates who were proud of their achievements and who felt friendly to the School would return their schedules, whereas those who had not done so well professionally might hesitate to send in this information. This possibility cannot be ignored; it may well be that the analysis which follows presents too favorable a picture. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that other factors also affected the returns. The schedules were sent out in a period when there had been much mobility among social workers, and the addresses in the School file were not up to date. Many schedules were returned by the postal authorities because of incorrect address. A number of social workers likewise were overseas, and mail reached them slowly. Perhaps, too, schedules of this type seemed to them of slight importance when they were in the midst of devastation caused by war, confronted by the immediate need to do what they could to alleviate the suffering in these devastated areas. At all events, a scrutiny of the names of the graduates who did not return schedules shows a significant number of the very successful as well as those whose work record is unknown to the School. The successful may represent a smaller proportion of the

252 not reporting than of the 505 reporting, but there is conclusive evidence that the group of 505 does not contain all the graduates of whose work there is reason to be proud.

I

Perhaps the first question that is of interest to those responsible for professional education for social work is the extent to which the graduates utilize their education in the field for which they have been prepared. As every effort is made to admit to professional training only those who have a serious interest in

work either permanently or temporarily. Adding the 20 who had left immediately on receipt of their degrees, this makes 135 who had left the field. Their reasons for leaving and the length of time they worked before leaving are presented in Table 1.

These figures point out a loss to the field that is really distressing—over one-fourth of those who might be working. Certainly those who worked five years and over, probably those who worked as much as three years, justified their own time and the time of others that went

TABLE 1
YEARS IN THE FIELD AFTER RECEIPT OF DEGREE AND REASONS FOR LEAVING

REASONS FOR LEAVING	YEARS IN FIELD AFTER DEGREE				
	Total	None or Less than 1	1, Less than 3	3, Less than 5	5 and Over
All reasons.....	135	22	38	37	38
Marriage, with or without children.....	100	13	26	30	31
Other family responsibilities.....	10	2	2	4	2
Different occupation.....	13	6	5	2
Illness.....	4	1	3
Other personal reasons.....	8	1	4	1	2

becoming professional persons, and the program for the A.M. degree makes heavy demands on those who go through with it, it might be expected that most of the graduates would find employment in social work. As a matter of fact all but 23 did so on leaving school.³ Of these, three entered military service at once, leaving only 20 who had any choice in the matter who did not enter the profession for which they had prepared.

Entrance to the field does not necessarily mean that a person remains in it. In 1946, when the schedules were returned, an additional 115, not counting 29 in military service, had left social

into their preparation. But those who worked for a shorter period, numbering 60 of the group of 135, represent a definite waste of educational resources. It is noted that marriage, with or without children, accounts for the loss of 100 workers, 39 before they had worked three years, and 61 after they had worked three years or more. Some loss from this cause is probably inevitable, but it might be appreciably reduced if satisfactory methods of caring for children in the mother's absence were available. Some of this loss, too, is probably temporary; women may return to social work employment when the children are older. In fact, thirteen of the women said they intended to do so, although they

³ A person who worked less than six months is counted as not working in the profession.

were not asked to declare their intentions.

The loss of 10 because of other family responsibilities is more distressing. It suggests all too clearly the persistence of the old pattern by which daughters, sisters, cousins, or aunts were expected to be available to help out in all family emergencies and indicates a continued lack of realization of the importance of woman's professional life.

It is gratifying to note that only 13 persons had moved to an occupation outside the field of social welfare. It is less gratifying, however, to see that 11 of this group went into another field after less than three years' employment in social work. It cannot help raising a question of whether the School had done everything possible to help these students clarify their vocational interests and understand the opportunities in the field before they invested their time in preparing for social work.

Perhaps this loss of workers to the field of social welfare, regrettable as it may be, has been overemphasized. Some loss is to be expected after any professional training, and especially loss through marriage in a field that has as many women students as the field of social service. For it should be noted that 370 of the 505 graduates returning schedules were women, and of these only 100 or slightly over one-fourth had left the field because of marriage. Perhaps, therefore, it is important to emphasize that 341 of the 476 graduates who were not in military service in December, 1945, were employed in social service and that as many as 416 had stayed in the field long enough to have made some contribution toward staffing the agencies in the field.

II

As already indicated, 482 graduates were employed as social workers after

receipt of their degrees. They gave information about their first positions and salaries which is of great interest. As it was known that many of the graduates had considerable experience as social workers before getting their degrees, information was obtained about their years of previous experience. It was found that 143 had never worked or had worked less than a year, 100 had worked one year but less than three, 97 had worked three years but not five, 97 had worked between five and ten years, and 45 had worked ten years or more. Obviously this variation in experience affected the type of position to which they went and the salary that they could command. For purposes of simplicity in analyzing the data, they were divided into two groups only. Those who had worked less than three years were classified with those who had not worked at all and were called inexperienced workers; those who had worked three years or more were called experienced workers.⁴

The type of position obtained on leaving school is shown in Table 2. It is recognized that in grouping the positions in this table many unlike positions have been included in a single class. Thus, research worker may mean a research assistant or a worker taking responsibility for the entire statistical program of a large public department. Supervisors especially have varied responsibilities ranging from that of the worker supervising two or three other workers in a small agency to those of the "consultants" on the staff of the Children's Bureau and Bureau of Public Assistance, with responsibility for a whole region. The data given on the schedules, however, did not make possible a finer classification, and it is believed that the differences between the classes are greater than those within

⁴ Finer divisions were made in tabulating but for most purposes seemed unnecessary.

any single class, so that the classification has significance.

As was to be expected the majority, 57 per cent of all graduates, went immediately into case-work positions; but a significant number, 119, or almost 25 per cent, went directly into supervisory positions, while the rest went in almost equal numbers into teaching in schools of social work, administrative positions, and research. The difference between the graduates with significant experience and those without is striking and in line with what would be expected. Of the inexperienced graduates 190, or 78 per cent, took positions as case workers, whereas only 37 per cent of the experienced workers took positions of this kind; 93, or 39 per cent of the experienced workers, obtained positions as supervisors and only 10 per cent of the inexperienced workers. It is not surprising that a large number of experienced workers took positions as case workers after receiving their degrees, but the number of graduates with less than three years' previous experience who went directly into supervisory and administrative positions and into teaching in schools of social work calls for comment. It would seem obvious that even with the Master's degree no one with that little experience is really qualified for positions of these types. The fact that even 41 were employed in such positions can mean only that the agencies employing them were desperate for workers or had low standards or a salary scale that did not make it possible to attract the more experienced workers.

Another question frequently asked about beginning workers is whether they go chiefly to public or chiefly to private agencies. Because of the School of Social Service Administration's long and well-known interest in the public welfare program, it is sometimes assumed that its graduates go only to the public services.

The figures show, however, that the number of graduates who took positions in private agencies was slightly larger than those who went into the public programs. Omitting the 35 graduates who went into teaching and miscellaneous positions, 228 graduates, or 51 per cent, found employment with private, 219, or 49 per cent, with public agencies. Considering the relative magnitude of public and private services, it is clear that the School of Social Service Administration is serving the public agencies far less adequately than the private.

TABLE 2
FIRST POSITION AFTER RECEIPT OF DEGREE
INEXPERIENCED AND EXPERIENCED
WORKERS*

First Position after Degree	All Gradu- ates	Inexperi- enced Workers	Experi- enced Workers
Case worker.....	278	190	88
Supervisor.....	119	26	93
Teacher.....	29	9	20
Research worker.....	23	9	14
Administrator.....	27	6	21
Other.....	6	3	3
Total.....	482	243	239

* *Inexperienced*.—Those with less than three years' experience on receipt of the degree. *Experienced*.—Those with three or more years' experience on receipt of the degree.

It is also of interest to see whether there was any difference between public and private agencies' ability to attract the experienced workers and any difference in the types of positions filled by the graduates going into the two fields. Table 3 shows clearly that the inexperienced graduates went in greater numbers to private agencies, the experienced workers to the public services.

In line with this difference are the differences in types of positions obtained in the two fields, as shown in Table 4.

Thus it is apparent that the private agencies got more case workers but fewer supervisors than the public agencies. In-

terestingly enough, however, they also got more administrators, while the public agencies got more workers for their research program.

Attention has already been called to the fact that a small but significant number of graduates went into positions for which they had too little experience. It is natural to ask whether it was the public

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF EXPERIENCE OF GRADUATES
GOING INTO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE
AGENCIES FOR FIRST POSITION

Experience before Degree	Total	Public	Private
Inexperienced.....	231	95	136
Experienced.....	216	124	92
Total.....	447	219	228

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF TYPES OF POSITIONS IN
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

First Position	Total	Public	Private
Case worker.....	278	111	167
Supervisor.....	119	82	37
Administrator.....	27	9	18
Research worker.....	23	17	6
Total.....	447	219	228

agencies which employed them for these positions. Analysis shows, however, that inexperienced workers went into supervisory and administrative positions in private as well as in public agencies, although more were found in the public services. More specifically 21 supervisors and administrators with less than three years' work experience were employed by public agencies, 11 by private.

Another matter of interest about the first positions of these graduates is the functional fields in which they were

found. This distribution is shown in Table 5.

The concentration in the two fields of family and child welfare is marked and to be expected. In fact, the whole distribution is in line with what is known with regard to opportunities in social service. The numbers in some of the fields, however, invite some comment. That 14 graduates between 1932 and 1942 found their first positions in health agencies other than hospitals or clinics is

TABLE 5

FUNCTIONAL FIELD OF FIRST POSITIONS

Functional Field	Number	Per Cent
Family welfare and public assistance.....	171	36
Child welfare.....	137	29
Health.....	72	15
Hospitals and clinics.....	58	12
Other health agencies.....	14	3
Social work education.....	29	6
Mental health (psychiatric clinics).....	21	4
Corrections.....	15	3
Planning and co-ordination.....	11	2
Other.....	26	5
Total.....	482	100

somewhat surprising. The use of social workers in these agencies, chiefly public health services, is a relatively new development, and, in general, there is a requirement of some years of hospital experience in addition to professional training. It seems doubtful if this standard was maintained for these 14 graduates, although it is possible that some of them had had hospital experience prior to the receipt of the degree.⁵

The small number in mental health services is not surprising to those who have observed the placement of students

⁵ It must be noted that sometimes completion of the educational program exclusive of the thesis preceded the completion of the thesis and hence the receipt of the degree by a number of years.

with psychiatric field work, but it may be to others. It is well known that this School has had a program of psychiatric training since 1930, and actually 143 of the 482 graduates had had two or more quarters' field work in psychiatric clinics. This merely emphasizes the fact that at this time the opportunities for employment for the psychiatrically trained worker lay in other functional fields.⁶ With development of psychiatric services under the Veterans Administration and the projected development under the United States Public Health Service this situation may be expected to change.

That 11 graduates went immediately to planning and co-ordinating agencies, chiefly community chests and councils of social agencies, is likewise of interest. During this period the School was not offering field work in community organization, and many people believed it was not preparing students for this work. The School did not share this view, believing that the broad understanding of the social welfare program which it attempted to help students gain was especially important for any work in connection with planning agencies, and even more important than field work in a planning agency. Apparently the value of this broad training, even without specialized field work, was recognized by a significant number of agencies.

The analysis of the first positions of the graduates has shown something of their range and variety and their distribution by public and private agencies and by various functional fields. The salaries earned in these first positions are still to be examined. In considering the

⁶ A special analysis of the graduate with psychiatric field work was made by Mr. John Hanks, as a report "submitted in candidacy for the Degree of Master of Arts." This showed that 35 per cent of the group went into family welfare, 22 per cent to child welfare, and 11 per cent to health services.

data on salaries it should be recognized at the outset that they are largely of historic interest today. The five years that have elapsed since the last graduate in the group studied earned a first salary have been years of marked change in salaries paid social workers. Perhaps the chief value in information on salaries of the past lies in the demonstration it gives of the necessity for the recent increases.

Information on first salaries was obtained from 463 of the 482 graduates who reported on their first positions. The

TABLE 6
FIRST MONTHLY SALARY AFTER RECEIPT
OF DEGREE—INEXPERIENCED AND
EXPERIENCED WORKERS

First Monthly Salary	Total	Inexperienced Workers	Experienced Workers
Less than \$125.....	21	20	1
\$125 and less than \$150..	170	122	48
\$150 and less than \$175..	137	64	73
\$175 and less than \$200..	50	9	41
\$200 and less than \$225..	35	9	26
\$225 and less than \$250..	15	3	12
\$250 and less than \$300..	24	4	20
\$300 and over.....	11	3	8
Total reporting.....	463	234	229

other 19 either did not give their salaries, were working part time with the hours not given, or were being paid in foreign currencies which could not readily be equated to American dollars. Table 6 gives the distribution of first salaries, again distinguishing the inexperienced and the experienced workers, at the time of receiving the degree.

When the group as a whole is considered, the concentration in the lower salary levels is marked. Thus 191, or 41 per cent of the group, received less than \$150 per month, and only 85, or 18 per cent, as much as \$200—the salary that union groups are demanding today as a mini-

imum for workers with full professional training. The concentration of salaries of inexperienced workers in the lower levels is even more marked. Well over half, 60 per cent, were earning less than \$150, almost 9 per cent less than \$125, and only 19 workers, or 8 per cent, received as much as \$200. Graduates with three or more years' experience fared somewhat better, as would be expected from the facts already given as to the positions they obtained. More received between \$150 and \$175 than received less than that; almost as many received from \$175 to \$200 as received under \$150; more than one-fourth received as much as \$200, and

there had been some change. Thus, of those graduates who received their degrees before 1939, 47 per cent earned less than \$150 in their first position, while the corresponding percentage for the graduates of 1939-40 was 35 and for those of 1941-42, 37. A fairer comparison probably considers only the graduates without previous experience. This shows that 70 per cent of those in the earlier period earned less than \$150, as compared with 55 per cent of those in the period from 1939 to 1942. Thus in the ten-year period some increase in salaries is apparent. But by 1942 it was still true that the majority of the graduates without previous experi-

TABLE 7
COMPARISON OF FIRST SALARIES IN DIFFERENT POSITIONS

First Position	Number Reporting Salaries	Actual Range	Effective Range (Middle 80 Per Cent)	Interval of Greatest Frequency	Per Cent in That Interval	Per Cent over \$200
Case worker.....	268	\$ 85-\$225	\$125-\$174	\$125-\$149	57	2
Supervisor.....	117	100- 300+	150- 250	150- 174	31	31
Administrator....	24	125- 300+	175- 299	250- 299	42	70
Other.....	54	100- 300+	150- 299	150- 174	33	48

slightly over one-tenth actually received \$250 or more. In reading these figures it should be remembered that while all these experienced workers had had as much as three years' experience in social work when they received their degrees, more had had five years than three, and a significant number had had ten years' or more paid experience in the field.

Such was the general picture of salaries for graduates of a school of social service in the decade between 1932 and 1942. It is natural to ask whether the picture was static or whether those graduates who got their degrees toward the end of the period, when we were emerging from the depression, fared better. A breakdown of the group by period when they received the degree showed that

ence and a significant number of those with three or more years' experience took their first positions at salaries under \$150 per month.

It is of interest also to consider salaries in the different types of positions. In analyzing these figures, case workers, supervisors, and administrators were considered separately, and all others—instructors, research workers, and those previously classified as other—were considered together because the numbers in each type of position were small and the responsibilities of the positions under each title were far from uniform. A summary of the significant facts about salaries in these different positions is given in Table 7. The "effective" range was obtained by omitting the 10 per cent at

each end of the salary scale, thus leaving the middle 80 per cent.

As was to be expected the case workers have the lowest salaries, the least range, and the greatest concentration within a single salary class, that of \$125 to \$149. While the salaries of some supervisors and some administrators were in the effective range of those of case workers, the general level for both groups was obviously higher. Although the interval of greatest frequency for supervisors is only one interval beyond that of case workers, the concentration in that group is far less marked and as many received \$200 or more as received \$150-\$174. The number holding administrative positions was small but large enough to show the higher salaries known to be characteristic of these positions. Examination of the last column shows that administrators were the one group that came within striking distance of the goal of \$200 as a minimum salary.

It has already been shown that most graduates without previous experience took positions as case workers but that many who have had significant experience also worked in this position after receiving the degree. It is of interest to know therefore whether the graduate with previous experience commanded a higher salary as case worker. This is of particular importance because for many persons, even though they have had experience prior to the degree, the soundest program for continued professional development is to work as case workers for some years, putting into practice and thus developing further the skills they have acquired during their study in a professional school. Obviously only a minority of the better students can be expected to do this if they are not offered some salary differential over the beginner in the field. The figures show some dif-

ferential but not a very marked one. No experienced graduate had a salary below \$125 whereas 18 inexperienced graduates did; 44 per cent of the experienced workers had salaries under \$150 as compared with 72 per cent of the inexperienced; 17 per cent had salaries of \$175 or more as compared with 10 per cent of the inexperienced; the median salary for experienced workers was just over \$150, the median for inexperienced around \$140. Certainly it was to the pecuniary advantage of the experienced graduate to take a position as supervisor or administrator if the opportunity arose.

Another matter that is of less significance but of some interest nonetheless is that of differences between the various functional fields. In comparing salaries in the different fields those of case workers only were considered in order to eliminate any differences caused by different distribution of positions between fields. When this comparison was made, some differences showed up, but they were not of great magnitude. Family welfare, child welfare, and health were the three fields with enough case workers to afford valid comparisons. The health field had the lowest salaries, with 75 per cent of the case workers under \$150; and, if the workers in hospitals and clinics alone were considered, 80 per cent were under this level. Family welfare showed 68 per cent, child welfare 65 per cent of the case workers below \$150. While the other fields had too few case workers in this group of graduates to attach any real significance to the results, it is interesting that 10 of the 16 workers in psychiatric clinics and 9 of the 11 in the correctional field reported salaries of \$150 or over. As far as they go, the figures lend support to the belief that salaries in these fields were somewhat higher than in others and that the small number of

graduates who found employment in them was caused by lack of openings rather than by competition of other fields.

As stated earlier, these first salaries of graduates in the years between 1932 and 1942 are not typical of beginning salaries today. They should be kept in mind, however, in reading any figures of percentage increases in social workers' salaries in the last three years. The types of

TABLE 8

CURRENT POSITIONS COMPARED WITH FIRST POSITIONS OF GRADUATES CURRENTLY EMPLOYED AND OF ALL GRADUATES WHO ENTERED THE FIELD

POSITION	CURRENT POSITION		FIRST POSITION	
	Number	Per Cent	Per Cent of 341 Currently Employed	Per Cent of 482 Who Entered Field
Case worker.....	55	16	55	58
Supervisor.....	141	41	25	24
Administrator...	94	27	7	5
Instructor.....	29	9	7	6
Research worker	16	5	5	5
Other.....	6	2	1	2
Total.....	341	100	100	100

positions graduates took in this period, however, are probably quite typical of the positions graduates of today are taking and will take. There is no reason to believe there has been any appreciable change in this regard. This further emphasizes the importance of an acceptable minimum for salaries for case workers.

III

The first positions and salaries of graduates tell something about their start in the field of social welfare but are, on the whole, less significant than the later work history. The study asked for

information about all the positions held, but only the positions at the time of the study, called the current positions, will be analyzed here. As already indicated, 135 of the 505 reporting had left the field by that time and 29 others were still in military service. The number therefore giving information about current positions was 341.

The first striking change noted was in types of positions. This is shown in Table 8.

The direction of the change was expected; its magnitude was surprising. Thus only 55 workers, or 16 per cent, reported their current position as case worker as compared with 55 per cent of the same group and 58 per cent of the total whose first position was that of case worker. The percentage employed as supervisors had increased, but the big increase was in administrators. The percentage so employed currently was almost four times as great as the percentage of these same graduates in their first position and over five times as great as the percentage of all graduates. In spite of a reduction of 141 in the total number employed, the number of administrators had increased from 27 to 94.

These figures speak well for the success of the graduates in the field of social welfare. They show the large number who are in position to give leadership to the field and to exert an influence on the shape of the social welfare program of the future. They emphasize the importance of the broad educational program which it has always been the aim of the School of Social Service Administration to provide for its students as opposed to a narrow concentration on the acquisition of the skills and knowledge needed in the first position.

On the other hand, these figures are also rather distressing. Important as are

intelligent planning of the social service program, good administrative policies, skilful supervision, it should never be forgotten that the person who comes in direct contact with people in trouble is the case worker and that unless skilled people are employed in those positions the best-appearing programs will be mere paper programs and fail to achieve their goal. Furthermore, this task of helping people is in truth an art; skill is attained by practice and experience. Accordingly, to find only 55 graduates still working as case workers must be of concern to those who care about the quality of our social services. When the experience of this group of 55 is examined, the concern becomes all the greater. Six had been working less than three years, and two actually less than a year, so that for them this represented a first as well as a current position; only 28 had been working as much as five years. This is only 11 per cent of the 248 graduates who had worked five years or more since receipt of the degree.

The reasons for this small number in case work are well known. Increases in salary, status, and recognition are achieved by "promotion" from the rank of case worker. Only in a few agencies are belated attempts being made to recognize the skilled case worker so that the worker who becomes a real master of his art can afford to stay a practitioner and so that others may be encouraged to develop that mastery. In no other profession is there a comparable situation; the skilled physician continues to see patients; the lawyer to work with clients. Only in social work must the practitioner feel ashamed to remain a practitioner. Leaders in social work have long been concerned about this fact, but the pattern has been set and change comes all too slowly.

Other changes in the positions of the graduates were less marked and less significant. The proportion in the different functional fields had changed somewhat. Family welfare and public assistance, child welfare, and health were still the three leading fields in the order named and still had the majority of the workers. The percentage in these three fields, however, had decreased to 64 from 80 in the first positions. There was a significant increase in the percentage of graduates in agencies concerned with planning and co-ordination of services, 8 per cent in their current as compared with 2 per cent in their first positions, a slight increase in the percentage in social work education; and the fields of veterans' services and international welfare not represented in the first positions had 6 per cent of the workers currently employed. These latter figures, however, have little significance except as they indicate that graduates were finding their way into these newer fields. Veterans' services were just getting under way in 1945; the international services were being curtailed, and it is known that many graduates on overseas service did not return the questionnaire.

There was likewise a slight decrease in the proportion of workers employed by public agencies. In their first positions it has been noted that 49 per cent of the graduates went into public programs; in their current positions the percentage had decreased to 43. The change is not great but enough to raise questions. Does it represent a general tendency to desert the public for private agencies after some years in the field? Or was it occasioned chiefly by the great expansion of the war agencies, notably the American Red Cross and Travelers Aid Society with their appeal to motives of patriotism and possibly their offers of higher salaries

than prevailed elsewhere? These questions can only be raised, not answered.

Salary increases were expected not only because workers had moved into positions that command better salaries but because the years between 1942 and 1946 marked a period of generally improving salary scales. The distribution by current salaries is shown in Table 9. It was not possible to put the distribution by first salaries in parallel columns as current salaries began at almost the point where first salaries left off. It will be remembered however that only 18

TABLE 9
CURRENT SALARIES

Current Salaries	Number	Per Cent
Under \$200.....	17	5
\$200 and under \$250.....	69	21
\$250 and under \$300.....	72	22
\$300 and under \$350.....	74	23
\$350 and under \$400.....	33	10
\$400 and under \$450.....	35	11
\$450 and under \$500.....	5	2
\$500 and over.....	21	6
Total reporting salaries..	326	100

per cent of the first salaries were as high as \$200 per month.

Certainly the picture of current salaries is a much brighter one than that of first salaries of graduates. Almost one-fifth, 19 per cent of the graduates reporting current salaries, were receiving as much as \$400 per month, or \$4,800 a year; over one-half were receiving over \$300 a month. These are respectable salaries, not large enough to attract people to the field for the sake of the pecuniary rewards, but not so small that they need deter the person who wants a modest living from his profession. It is perhaps particularly encouraging that some of the salaries above \$500 rose considerably above that figure; one worker

was receiving over \$700, and five others between \$600 and \$700 per month.

The general improvement in the salary picture should not obscure the fact that for some it was still far from satisfactory. Seventeen graduates, or 5 per cent of the total, received under \$200 in their current position and another 69 received \$200 but less than \$250, making a total of 26 per cent under this figure. Some of this group, to be sure, had not been in the field long; analysis by years of experience since the receipt of the degree shows 11 of the 17 below \$200 and 29 of the 69 receiving between \$200 and \$250 had less than five years' experience. This leaves, however, 48 workers or over half of those below the \$250 level who had had at least five years' experience since the receipt of the degree. Just what this means is not known. Had these workers not proved adapted to the field after all? Had they got "stuck," so to speak, in some agency with low-salary scales and stayed on out of devotion to the service? Whatever the cause, however, it seems that any worker good enough to stay in the field should command a salary as high as \$250 per month after five years' professional experience.

Analysis of current salaries by types of positions is quite as important as the more general analysis. Table 10 makes possible a comparison between the three main types, case workers, supervisors, and administrators.

This table shows clearly that the pattern found in first salaries persists with slight modification. The case workers still have the lowest salaries and the least spread, the supervisors show less concentration than case workers but more than the administrators, the administrators still show the highest percentage with good salaries. The differences from first salaries are equally striking. The typical

salary for a case worker in 1945 was around the \$200 mark as contrasted with \$135 in the first position, that of supervisor \$250 as compared with \$165, that of the administrator \$300 compared to \$275.⁷ It is apparent, therefore, that the graduates were receiving appreciably greater salaries than they would have, had they merely moved to different types of positions at the salaries earned by graduates in these positions in their first employment.

Table 10 also emphasizes the point already made that little financial inducement is offered to remain a case worker.

than \$225. These low-paid supervisors were found in both public and private agencies, but 25 of the 40 and 8 of the lowest 15 were in public services. As the public agencies had only 53 per cent of all the supervisors, it is clear that although the difference is not great they had somewhat more than their share of the low paid.

The numbers engaged in research and in teaching in schools of social work were too few to include in the table, but it is interesting to note that on the whole both groups were among the better-paid workers. Fourteen of the 16 in research

TABLE 10
COMPARISON OF CURRENT SALARIES OF CASE WORKERS,
SUPERVISORS, AND ADMINISTRATORS

Current Position	Number Reporting Salaries	Effective Range*	Interval of Greatest Frequency	Per Cent in That Interval	Per Cent below \$250	Per Cent \$300 or Over
Case worker.....	51	\$175-\$275	\$175-\$224	50	76	5
Supervisor.....	139	225- 375	225- 274	36	29	41
Administrator.....	91	275- 500	274- 324	23	3	81

* The middle 80 per cent.

Closer examination of these 51 case workers and their salaries makes the picture look even darker. Of the 24 per cent, or 12 workers, who were receiving \$250 or more a month, 5 were in the Veterans Administration, 3 were in psychiatric clinics, 2 were in the correctional field, leaving only 2 in the fields of family and child welfare and none in the medical field which employ the great bulk of the case workers.

The number of supervisors with low salaries is also worthy of comment. Forty received less than \$250 a month, and of this number 15 actually received less

⁷ These salaries are the midpoint of the interval of greatest frequency. The administrators, however, have such a small percentage in any single class that it is probably misleading to speak of a typical salary.

and 19 of the 24 in teaching received \$300 or over. Twelve in each group received \$350 or more.

Comparisons between the various functional fields were not believed to be significant because it was impossible to compare like positions. One field, however, stood out from the others in striking fashion. The agencies concerned with planning and co-ordinating services had only one-twelfth of the workers but had one-fifth of those receiving \$400 or more, and almost two-fifths of these receiving \$500 or more. Although the numbers are small, the conclusion seems justified that this was on the whole the field in which the highest salaries were earned.

The more significant facts about the current positions, especially in compari-

son with the first positions, can be summarized very briefly. There was a striking shift from case work to supervisory and administrative positions; a slight shift from public to private agencies; a somewhat greater shift from the family, child welfare, and health fields to others, especially to the field of planning and co-ordinating services and to some of the new, war-created services. The salaries had increased to a point which might be deemed reasonably satisfactory for half the group, but there were still a significant number with quite low salaries.

TABLE 11
FIRST AND CURRENT POSITION BY SEX

TYPE OF POSITION	FIRST POSITION PER CENT		CURRENT POSITION PER CENT	
	Men (130)	Women (352)	Men (99)	Women (242)
All types.....	100	100	100	100
Case worker....	45	62	8	19
Supervisor.....	29	23	25	48
Administrator...	8	5	48	19
Research worker	8	4	8	3
Teacher.....	8	5	8	9
Other.....	2	1	3	2

This was especially true for case workers, a very small number of whom were earning as much as \$250 per month, and almost none of these in the fields which employ the greatest number of case workers. On the whole, the improvement could be called striking but spotty.

IV

It is so well known that women outnumber men in the field of social welfare that questions are frequently asked about its opportunities for men. The presence of 135 men in the group of graduates reporting has already been indicated, but thus far no attempt has been made to differentiate men and women.

Is the general picture the same for both sexes? Or was there any significant difference in the fields to which men went, and the salaries they earned?

Table 11 shows the differences in positions. It shows that even in first positions there were some differences between the men and women graduates. A smaller proportion of the men became case workers; a somewhat larger proportion became supervisors, administrators, research workers, and teachers in schools of social work. The differences, however, were not very striking; the order of frequency was essentially the same for men and women. In current positions the story is very different; the position held by the largest percentage of the men was administrator, by the largest number of women supervisor. The men had over twice as high a percentage in administrative positions, less than half in case-work positions. Women had a higher percentage in supervisory positions, but their percentage in supervisory and administrative combined was still under that of the men. It is evident that the men started with some advantage but moved much more rapidly than did the women into the better paying and more responsible positions. As there was a marked difference in positions between the experienced and inexperienced workers, the experience of men and women was compared. The percentage without experience was almost exactly the same for both sexes. Hence the comparison given is unaffected by the factor of experience.

The salary data bring out the same point. In their first positions men had a very slight differential. Indeed, the first quartile and the median fell in the same salary interval for both men and women. The third quartile for men, however, lay between \$200 and \$225, for women between \$175 and \$200; 25 per cent of the men received \$200 or more, not quite 13

per cent of the women; 4 per cent of the men received as much as \$300, 2 per cent of the women.

In current salaries the differential had increased very markedly as shown in Table 12.

Thus the first quartile for men is in the same salary interval as the median for women; the median for men is above the third quartile for women.

TABLE 12
CURRENT SALARIES OF MEN AND WOMEN
(Quartiles)

	SALARY INTERVAL IN WHICH LIES		
	Lower Quartile	Median	Upper Quartile
Men.....	\$275-\$279	\$350-\$374	\$425-\$449
Women....	225- 249	275- 279	325- 349

Another way of showing the more favorable position of the men is by showing the percentage of both groups above certain salary figures. This is done in Table 13.

The differences at the higher levels might almost be called fantastic. In absolute numbers there were three times as many men as women earning \$500 or more when the total number of men in the group was well under one-half the number of women, making the percentage of men in this highest salary bracket eight times that of the women. It will be noted, too, that there were more men than women with salaries of \$350 and over, although the difference in both absolute numbers and percentages is less than at the highest level. At the other end of the scale only 12 per cent of the men but 33 per cent of the women had salaries under \$250.

These differences between men and women should be of concern to all who believe that promotion and salary increases should be based on ability alone,

for there is not the slightest evidence that the men graduates of the School of Social Service Administration were a more able group than its women graduates. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly to the advantage of the profession to have men as well as women in its ranks. The figures for men's salaries should offer greater inducement to able men to enter the field than those for the salaries of men and women combined. The chance for a man to earn a reasonable salary if he can stick it out for a few years is indeed good. The opportunity to get into administration after a relatively short period of experience is very real.

The facts presented in this study give the School of Social Service Administration just reason to be proud of its gradu-

TABLE 13
CURRENT SALARIES, MEN AND WOMEN
(Cumulative)

CURRENT MONTHLY SALARY	NUMBER		PER CENT	
	Men (99)	Women (227)	Men	Women
\$500 and over...	16	5	16	2
\$450 and over...	18	8	18	3
\$400 and over...	40	21	40	9
\$350 and over...	54	40	54	18
\$300 and over...	74	94	74	41
\$250 and over...	88	152	88	67
Under \$250.....	11	75	12	33

ates. The evidence that they are being called on to fill positions of responsibility and are advancing in the profession is overwhelming. The fact that by 1946 two-thirds of the graduates between 1932 and 1942 who were still working were in supervisory or administrative positions, that almost one-tenth were helping prepare others for the profession, and that one-twentieth were engaged in research speaks for itself. The increase in salaries between the first and current positions marked not only their own prog-

ress but the advances of the field toward a level of salaries of which the profession need not be ashamed. Attention may be called again to the fact that almost one-fifth of the graduates were earning as much as \$4,800 per year and almost one-tenth \$6,000 or more.

Other data from the schedules not previously given add to the feeling of pride. One hundred and twenty graduates had continued their formal education by taking additional courses in universities or schools of social work; an almost equal number reported some published work to their credit, ranging from articles in popular magazines and professional journals to substantial volumes recognized as significant contributions to the field; participation in community activities was reported by well over half the group. This participation was not limited to service on committees which were concerned with problems which are usually the exclusive province of the social worker, such as standards of agencies and of training, day-care facilities for children of working mothers, and the like. It included also committees on subjects with which other citizens are also active: housing, national health programs, fair employment practices, antipoll-tax legislation—to mention a few of general interest. It seems very clear that a significant number of the graduates were both taking steps to promote their own professional development and doing their bit to advance the profession and to remedy some of the conditions which create the need for many of the social services. In other words, these graduates were utilizing their education for truly professional as distinguished from merely vocational ends. It is the belief that graduates will do so that justifies the inclusion of a school of social work in a great university. It is gratifying to find this belief sustained by the record.

The study has disclosed other facts which are not so satisfactory. They reflect not on the graduates but on practice in the field. Attention has already been called to them and their significance pointed out. A small but significant number of graduates without appreciable previous experience were put directly into supervisory, administrative, and teaching positions. In spite of the improvement in the salary picture there were still notable lags, so that a significant number of graduates after five years' postdegree experience were still in salary brackets below \$250 per month and a small number below \$200. Most serious were the low salaries for case workers and the consequent exodus from that position so that by 1946 only 55 graduates and only 28 who had worked as long as five years were working as case workers. Of some concern, too, were the marked differentials between salaries for men and women so that the highest salaries were almost exclusively men's prerogative. All these are matters which people in the field of social work may well consider; they need to be corrected if the social welfare program is to attain its maximum efficiency.

It has been said that the School of Social Service Administration is proud of its graduates. But accompanying that feeling of pride is a very real sense of humility and an increased sense of responsibility both to its students and to the field. As our graduates take positions of leadership, we must strive to see that they are properly equipped for such positions. We see the importance of the broad type of program to which we have always adhered. But we must constantly study and re-evaluate it in the light of changing conditions in the field and in the world at large.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SOCIAL INSURANCE AND THE RIGHT TO ASSISTANCE

ROBERT M. BALL

MOST people get paid only while working, whether they work for another or are self-employed. Yet people must have an income not only while they work but during periods of forced inactivity. Furthermore, the incomes of the great majority of people while working are not big enough to absorb large, unpredictable expenses. To help meet these problems of maintaining income and of paying the costs of extraordinary expenses, every industrial country in the world has developed institutions of social security.

The term "social security" is usually limited to government programs which pay benefits to those whose income has been interrupted by such contingencies as old age, unemployment, disability, or the death of the chief breadwinner in the family and to government programs which help people to meet such expenses as those of medical care and burial. Social security is the inclusive term and covers social insurance and public assistance, both of which exist in most countries, and also universal pensions and allowances, where these devices are used.

As the two major parts of a system of social security, public assistance and social insurance have a common base in program and in administration. Similarities in the two approaches have become increasingly noticeable where, as in the United States, they are administered in the same agency. Not only are they both government programs directed at the problem of income maintenance, but in administration both are primarily concerned with the determination of individual eligibility for benefits in a situation

where the conditions of eligibility have their origin in law. These basic similarities give rise to a considerable community of interest between social insurance and public assistance and make the differences between them differences within a unity.

The differences are nonetheless important. In fact, because of their common base it is necessary to stress that they are different, lest there be confusion concerning the roles which each should play in the social security program of the future. This paper assumes that both public assistance and social insurance will continue to be necessary and that each must be planned and administered with the other in mind as part of a total program. It is directly concerned, however, only with those elements which continue to distinguish social insurance from any program based upon a means or income test, even one which is administered as a right.

A few years ago differences between social insurance and public assistance were frequently summed up by saying that social insurance was a right, while public assistance was based on need. The right to social insurance was thought to rest on the beneficiary having paid for his insurance, while the granting of money to people solely because they were unable to support themselves was considered by many to be incompatible with the concept of a right to the payment.

Subject to considerable attack, this basis for distinguishing between social insurance and assistance is seldom advanced today. There has been at least limited recognition of a right to public

relief in America from Colonial times; and, although by no means fully established in practice, it is clear that such a right exists under the Social Security Act. The real issue is not whether there is a right to assistance but the implications of that right and the extent to which it can be enforced. Moreover, critic after critic has pointed out that our social insurance benefits are not directly related to the contributions made by individual workers or on their behalf and that there are many beneficiaries for whom the contributions are insufficient to cover the cost of the risks against which they are insured. Old age and survivors' insurance favors the worker who was already old when the system went into effect, the worker with dependents, and the lower-paid worker. Members of these groups may get more than they and their employers pay for, even if contributions are figured at 3 per cent each, the maximum rate to which taxes would have risen under the original provisions of the Social Security Act.

In unemployment insurance most states do not have an employee contribution. Furthermore, the benefit structures are so arranged that the employer's contribution on behalf of a particular employee is not necessarily related directly to the amount of the worker's potential benefit. Minimum and maximum provisions and, in some states, uniform duration of benefits mean that in unemployment insurance, as well as in old age and survivors' insurance, the worker's individual benefit has not always been paid for by direct contributions made by himself or expressly on his behalf. The right to social insurance cannot be made to rest on the private-insurance concept of individual payment covering the full value of the insurance, nor can public assistance be considered a gratuity. This

once popular basis for distinguishing assistance from insurance cannot be maintained.

Recognition of the fact that the cost of social insurance for the individual is not always covered by contributions earmarked for him has led some writers to the conclusion that the program is really very much like relief and that any distinctions between the two approaches are hardly worth keeping. For example, Lewis Meriam in *Relief and Social Security* (1946) advocates the substitution of a "means test" program for social insurance, partly at least, on the theory that paying benefits to people who have not demonstrated individual need is unjustified unless they have paid the cost of those benefits through contributions. Social insurance to him is an expensive way of camouflaging relief; in so far as the insurance benefits are not paid for individually, they are relief in disguise. A believer in conditioning assistance on behavior, he would restrict the concept of right as much as possible.

At the opposite pole of social philosophy there are those who in their emphasis on an unconditional right to assistance imply that social insurance has nothing to offer which cannot be equally or perhaps even better accomplished by a public assistance program firmly established in law and administered in the spirit of right. In his excellent discussion of the implications of a right to assistance, A. Delafield Smith at the 1946 National Conference of Social Work, for example, said:

Actually, then public assistance is even more deserving of being described as social insurance than a more selective security system, for assistance programs frankly pay in relation to need and are financed by taxation. That, to me, is true social insurance. It is social security.

and later, in speaking of existing limitations on the full realization of the right to assistance:

This is the kind of thing that has given the word "welfare" an acrid flavor. It has set "charity" over against the "law." It distinguishes "right" from "need." It has made an old age "pension" acceptable, but old age "assistance" in the same amount and on the same terms unacceptable. It demands social "insurance" though the only insurable "hazard" is the bare fact of an empty cupboard. These are but words, words, words.

Both Mr. Meriam and Mr. Smith seem to me to be underrating very significant and fundamental differences between social insurance and public assistance which will and should endure, even though there are more superficial differences which will tend to be modified as the right to assistance is more fully realized. Although the differences between the two approaches are not those that were once put forward, they are nonetheless real.

THE RIGHT TO ASSISTANCE

The right to assistance is a transforming concept. It is one of those dynamic ideas occasionally met with in the history of thought that has the power to change the way men feel and act and, consequently, to revolutionize important institutions. Administration in the spirit of right and legislative safeguards such as the fair hearing and the protection of confidential information have led to such a revolution in the institution of relief and assistance in America—a revolution only half completed, it is true, but one which has already accomplished much.

The idea that assistance payments are a legal and enforceable right for all who meet the conditions of eligibility has necessarily led to an emphasis on equality of treatment among applicants, for a legal right means that those who are alike with

respect to certain defined conditions must be treated alike. The concept of equal treatment in turn has led to an emphasis on objective standards for determining eligibility and the amount of the benefit—for how else can equality and right be sustained? Thus today in public assistance there is a growing awareness of the fundamental importance of rules and regulations, defining as precisely as possible exactly what an applicant is entitled to and under what circumstances. The discretion which the relief administrator traditionally possessed to determine who should get money and how much is incompatible with the concept of right.

The antithesis between right and a punitive administration purposefully designed to discourage people from applying for relief is immediately apparent. Less quickly recognized is the antithesis between right and a benevolent paternalism which seeks to improve the behavior or character of the recipient. If the recipient has a right to a payment which rests on his meeting carefully defined eligibility requirements, the administrator cannot use the threat of withholding payments to get people to do what he wants. The interpretation of the money-payment provision in the Social Security Act to mean that the grant must be unrestricted—that it shall be spent as the recipient, not the agency, wants—is the Magna Charta of the assistance recipient.

All measures, statutory as well as those of individual discretion, which aim at enforcing a higher standard of behavior for the person receiving assistance than for the rest of the community are incompatible with the idea that assistance is paid as a right. Extra requirements, such as that a child must be in a "suitable" home in applying a special standard to the receipt

of public assistance, mean, in effect, that the person must "deserve" his assistance payment by acting a certain way. One does not have to "deserve" a right by following a particular code of moral or social behavior. If it is truly a right, the money is the recipient's own without qualification, and the only controls to which he should be subject are those which govern the whole community. To quote Mr. Smith again:

Law never seeks to buy behavior. It seeks to give rein to moral law. It seeks to allow the individual to benefit or suffer from his choices and sacrifices as freely as possible. This is quite inconsistent with the idea that behavior should enlarge or diminish legal rights. Law insists that the free exercise of rights is essential to democratic equality.

The concept of a right to assistance means not only that the individual shall have security but equally important that he does not have to sacrifice his freedom to attain security. It is toward this goal which the right to assistance is leading us, but we are still a long way from achieving our objective.

LEGAL RIGHTS AND EARNED RIGHTS

The concept of a right to assistance has changed and is changing so much of our attitude toward that program that we are in danger of forgetting what it has not changed and what it is not capable of changing. By definition, a public assistance program pays only those who are in "need," that is, those who do not have enough income from all sources to maintain a standard of living which is considered by the community to be the absolute minimum. Furthermore, a public assistance program pays people *because* they are in need. This is the reason they receive the payment and is the most important condition of eligibility. It is what makes an assistance program assistance.

The amount of the payment, as well as who gets it, is determined by need, whether an individualized budget is used or whether an assumption is made about the need of a particular class of persons, such as the aged. Other income is deducted from the individualized budget or in a flat-grant program from the "presumptive budget." Thus, the total income of the individual is not allowed to exceed the minimum community standard.

Certain consequences which cannot be turned aside by good administration and a concept of right flow inevitably from this means test. Because individuals are singled out for payment on the basis of need, people will look on this payment as something different from the other money payments which they receive. Most payments to individuals are not simply a matter of legal right but are thought of as being in payment for service to the economic system. They are "earned" rights.

For the great majority of people money payments are almost entirely in the form of wages and salaries, but the other common types of money payments are also thought of as being made in return for an economic contribution. Whatever differences economists may have concerning the nature of interest, rent, and profits, the community looks on these payments as being service-connected. There is an awareness that rewards are often incommensurate with service, that there is a "windfall" element, for example, in rent and profits (thus the popular concept of a "reasonable" profit), or that wages do not always correctly compensate for the individual's contribution (witness the concept of exploitation); but, nevertheless, under our social and economic mores, the justification for labor being paid at all or for owners of

capital and land getting a return is that a service has been rendered.

The recognition that economic rewards are not always commensurate with the contribution makes us willing to tamper in many ways with the particular distribution of wealth which would result from the "free play of economic forces." Our economic ethic demands that some contribution be made for what we get, but most of us do not believe that the payments which result from the automatic functioning of the system are necessarily a "correct" evaluation of the service and that additional payments for that service resulting from the intervention of the state are in any sense "unearned." The farmer feels he has earned his income even when the price of farm products is artificially maintained, and the worker who gets the minimum wage under the Wage and Hour Law is not concerned because his income is higher than the evaluation which would be put on his services by a free market.

The connection between the right to a money payment and what is assumed to be an economic service is nearly universal. With few exceptions money payments that are not thought of as earned are not considered rights but gratuities and are within the discretion of the giver.¹ This is characteristic of socialist as well as capitalist economics. People

¹ Although some payments for damages are service-connected in that they attempt to restore what one had earned previously or to make up for what one is prevented from earning in the future, others are in excess of the loss and are in the nature of a penalty against the one who committed the injury. Still others are made in consideration of suffering. Both of these latter types are the result of legal rights, but they are not earned rights. The distribution of money through inheritance is also something of an exception. Inheritance seems partly an unearned right and partly a gratuity. Except for the interest of a spouse in real property, inheritance as a right really exists only in the absence of clear direction from the deceased. He gives it as he wishes and the rights of even the closest

are paid wages and interest under socialism, even though not profits, and the incentive system throughout the industrial world—in those states in which either a large part or all of the productive forces are owned by government as well as where individual and corporate ownership is dominant—depends basically on this connection between the making of an economic contribution and the receipt of a payment as a matter of right.

Public assistance establishes a right to a money payment which is fundamentally different; it is not paid because of service but because of individual need. It is not strange, therefore, that attitudes toward it and toward earned rights are very different and that there is a tendency to confuse public assistance with a gratuity. Public assistance is winning acceptance as a legal right and a moral right, but it is not and cannot be thought of as an earned right. The basis for eligibility, the fundamental characteristic of the program, is not work or the payment of money contributions derived from work but is the negative fact of being without enough to live on.

The idea that assistance has been

members of the family are very limited indeed. However, in so far as it is a gratuity, our attitude toward an inheritance and other gratuities is very different. Perhaps this is partly the result of our special attitude toward payments from one member of a family to another and partly the result of the one who inherits being released, by reason of the death of the giver, from some of the obligations, emotional and other, which go with many gifts from those who are still alive. Veterans' benefits are properly classified as service-connected, even though the service is not an economic one. Gambling is "getting something for nothing," and our moral disapproval of it is based on this fact. Businesses in which there is a large speculative element are at great pains to show that they perform economic functions and are not gambling. The speculative trader in commodities, for example, is justified on the grounds that he relieves the grower of a portion of the risk, and the trader in stocks is given the function of providing a continuous market for securities and thereby facilitating investment.

earned by work or the payment of taxes throughout the life of the recipient is a rather transparent rationalization designed to make assistance more attractive. It is an indication of the strong desire to think of the payment as earned, but it is hardly tenable. If assistance is earned, why give it only to those who are in need? Surely there is no reason to think that those who are ineligible for public assistance did less to earn a payment or paid lower taxes than those who receive it. Many who work best never get public assistance; some who work poorly, or not at all, do get it. To those it does pay, it pays not in proportion to their work but in proportion to their need. People cannot be expected to look on such a program as a reward for an economic contribution, as something to be proud of, no matter how completely they come to accept the idea of having a right to it.

ASSISTANCE IS FOR THE POOR

The means test, even when modified substantially by exempt income and exempt resources, also inevitably carries with it the separation of the community into two groups—one in which the members have enough money to support themselves and the other in which they do not. It is probable that the great bulk of workers will continue to prefer to be in the former rather than the latter group, and this in spite of any degree of sophistication which they may have concerning individual responsibility for economic success or economic failure. One may understand and sympathize with reasons for being dependent and may be willing to grant that factors other than individual worth are responsible for the ability to be self-supporting, and yet be very glad that one does not have to take as-

sistance. A worker may believe completely in the idea that assistance is a right for those who are unable to support themselves but be very thankful that he does not have to exercise that right.

A program which divides the community into two groups on the basis of income and possessions carries with it feelings of self-doubt and loss of social prestige for the one group and snobbery and prejudice for the other. It is common in public assistance, for example, for individual applicants or their friends to want to differentiate between the particular case in which they are interested and on which they look as deserving and what they conceive to be the typical case. They may be at great pains to indicate that a particular applicant was once economically successful and that subsequent failure was not his fault. This striving for a special status within the group of public assistance recipients is an indication of how strongly people feel about being identified with those who are financially unsuccessful and frequently considered by the community to be less adequate than the general run of citizens. One reason public assistance is so hard to administer in a way which preserves the self-respect of the recipient is that only the poor are entitled to the payments, and the poor are little honored. Some degree of stigma in a program based on need is almost ineradicable in a society which values self-support, is characterized by differences in levels of living, and looks on economic well-being as pleasant and desirable.

In New Zealand, in Sweden, in Great Britain, in the states of California and Washington, wherever the concept of the right to assistance has been most fully realized and wherever the liberalization of the means test has been pushed the fur-

thet, there is still intense dislike of a program which pays benefits only to persons with little or no income. It is exactly in these places where the movement to abolish the means test is strongest. People stubbornly prefer to receive payments to which they can transfer all the feelings surrounding earnings and which are not a badge of economic inadequacy.

Some find this hard to understand, since there is no comparable reluctance to accept such services provided by government as education, fire and police protection, libraries, and public parks, which are also supported from general taxation, are not individually earned, and are used only by those who "need" them. Perhaps people will come to feel the same about public assistance benefits as they do about these government services, but there is an important difference which has to be evaluated before coming to such a conclusion. "Need" in the case of education, fire protection, etc., is not determined by reference to whether one can pay for the service but by whether it is useful. This is "need" in a very different sense. Where the question of whether one can pay is the basis of eligibility for the service, as in medical care in America, a stigma is attached to the receipt of the service just as it is to the receipt of a cash benefit. It is the individual test of need which introduces invidious comparisons and separates one group in the population from the other. It is the fact that all use the universally provided services of government that prevents a stigma from being attached to their receipt. The educational approach which would be comparable to public assistance would be to provide public schools only for the children of persons with little or no income.

THE COMMUNITY MINIMUM

One other characteristic of public assistance programs is also inherent in their very nature. Public assistance pays only enough to bring each individual up to a community-determined minimum. The recipient is not allowed to combine other income of substantial amounts with the assistance payment and in this way secure a higher level of living. The community minimum is his maximum as long as he remains under the program. The drive in assistance is egalitarian to the greatest possible degree, although it provides equality at a low level and only among the poor.

Since the reason for the payment is need—however this need may be defined in a given place at a given time—it does not have a comfortable standard of living as part of its purpose. Its goal must be the prevention of want or the maintenance of health and decency or some other minimum standard figured at the lowest level applicable to all. In a society where varying living standards are the rule and not only comfort but security is conceived of in different terms at various income levels, it is not possible for public assistance with its ceiling on income to promote a standard of real comfort and security. This is necessarily left to the province of individual effort and earned payments.

These three points—that the assistance payment is categorically different from other money paid as a right because it is not a reward for services; that the means test divides the community into two groups, those who have and those who have not; and that its object is limited to bringing people up to a community minimum—are inherent in the nature of the program. No amount of emphasis upon the right to assistance

will change these fundamental differences. They cannot be changed without getting rid of the means test.

SOCIAL INSURANCE AS AN EARNED RIGHT

Each one of these points is in direct contrast to the social insurance approach. Social insurance payments are made to individuals on the basis of a work record and are part of the reward for services rendered. Typically, the worker makes a direct contribution to the fund, but, even if he does not "pay for his insurance" through an earmarked contribution which covers the cost of the risk, he earns the right to it through work. The insurance is part of the perquisites of the job. As in a private pension plan or group insurance, the question of who pays the cost is of the highest importance, but it is not the crucial one in determining whether there is an earned right to the payment. There is little hesitation in transferring to a payment for which one has worked all the feelings surrounding an earned right regardless of whether there has been a deduction from wages. Such a payment is a reward—something to be proud of—just as savings or high wages are. Private pensions, group insurance, and social insurance all belong, along with wages and salaries, to the group of work-connected payments, and it is this work-connection, the fact that it is earned, which gives social insurance its basic character.

Public assistance in selecting people for payment because they are in need rests on an entirely different kind of right—the right to a minimum standard of living based on membership in a civilized community. As stated by Karl de Schweinitz in a forthcoming book, "People and Process in Social Security."

The principle of self-help (in social insurance), however, is dominant. The individual

is entitled to insurance by virtue of what he has done. Insurance is a positive experience. It is a measure of a person's success in the labor market. This is much more evident in old age insurance than in unemployment compensation, but the contrast in this respect between all forms of insurance and public assistance is marked.

In public assistance the inherent factors are negative rather than positive. Entitlement is based not upon what the individual has done in payment or in work but upon his lack of any such resource. It is founded upon his need, upon what he has not. The individual applying for insurance points to the record of his wages. The applicant for assistance states that he is unable to maintain himself. The right to insurance is based on contributions which the prospective beneficiary has made in money or in work. The right to assistance is founded on the individual's kinship in a common humanity recognized by a community which has undertaken to see to it—and registered the fact in statute—that none of its members shall suffer if they are in need.²

Although the fact that social insurance is an earned benefit does not depend on the employee contribution, this contribution does have great value in social insurance, private pension schemes, group insurance, and the like because it dramatizes the worker's direct interest in the fund. It makes it clearer to him and other people, as well, that he should have a real say in the planning and protection of the system from either undue liberalization or restriction. The contribution gives stability to the system by emphasizing both the earned right to the insurance and the proprietary interest of the worker in his benefit. To accomplish this it is of course not necessary that the entire cost of the benefit be paid for by earmarked contributions or that the benefit amounts be in direct proportion to the worker's own contribution. The

² Karl de Schweinitz, "People and Process in Social Security" to be published by the American Council on Education.

basic character of the insurance as a work-connected payment remains regardless of whether some groups are given a greater return for their money than others. In this respect, social insurance is similar to minimum-wage laws which intervene in the "free play of economic forces" and insist that some people be paid higher wages than they would otherwise be able to get. The minimum wage and the "weighted" insurance benefit are earned payments, even though the amount is not what would have resulted from "free competition."

As an earned right, social insurance, unlike public assistance, is an integral part of the economic incentive system. Under social insurance, security is earned through work and is additional remuneration for working, while public assistance provides benefits without reference to work. Equally important, in social insurance the incentive to earn and save throughout one's working life is protected because any additional income, large or small, may be used to provide a higher standard of living. On the other hand, a private income from savings, since it must be deducted from the benefit, makes no difference in the total income of the public assistance recipient. In practice, it is true, even an income which has to be supplemented by public assistance may have real value in making the recipient feel less dependent, but it is the failure of public assistance to give the same satisfaction per dollar as an earned payment which makes this so. In strictly economic terms, a person who has little hope of accumulating enough to make him entirely ineligible for assistance has no reason to strive for a private income.

Even in New Zealand which allows fairly substantial exempt amounts be-

fore reducing benefits, there is concern about the effect of the income test on incentives. It is recognized that the system works counter to general economic incentives for those who have any possibility of securing incomes above the exemption, for above this amount the benefits are larger the less one has been able to earn and save. The very liberalizations which make the receipt of a "means test" benefit in New Zealand less subject to stigma than anywhere else in the world intensify the danger that such benefits may weaken the desire to secure a private income above the amount which allows one to get a full benefit.³

Partly because of the stigma attached to the receipt of public assistance in the United States, it is to be doubted that very many people deliberately avoid efforts at earning and saving in order to be eligible for a benefit or in order to get a higher benefit. However, the fear that a generous program administered in the spirit of right might be an inducement to some to work and save less is one of the reasons the community is reluctant to accept the full implications of a right to assistance and a standard of health and decency for assistance payments. Although incentives are a complex of many powerful motives in addition to the economic, no system of production can afford to ignore the relation of money payments to economic contribution. There are many faults in our present system of monetary incentives, and behavior contrary to the best interests of the community is frequently induced, but this fact argues for a closer connection between contribution and award, not for ignoring incentives in the provision of security. Some benefits must be paid on

³ See Leslie Lipson, "The New Zealand Means Test: An Appraisal," *Public Administration*, XXII (winter, 1944-45), 131-36.

a "means test" basis, but it is important from the standpoint of economic incentives that primary reliance be placed on earned payments made without regard to need.

SOCIAL INSURANCE IS FOR ALL WHO WORK

Second, social insurance does not divide the community into two groups, putting those with enough money to support themselves in one group and those without enough money in another. It is true that certain foreign systems still have something similar to this in that they cover only lower-paid workers so that a certain class distinction does exist, but this is on the way out, and it never carried with it the same feelings as did a distinction based on a direct means test. In this country, of course, no coverage limitations based on income have ever existed. Thus, as in the case of a private pension plan, individuals of varying wage levels and varying standards of living receive payments from the same program. The low-paid wage-earner, the poor man without possessions, receives payments through the same mechanism as the highly paid salary worker or executive. There is none of the feeling in such a social insurance program as there tends to be in assistance, that this program is for the "poor" or the "unfortunate," with all that such an attitude implies. It is not one part of the community caring for another, but the community meeting a universal need. Everyone has a stake in his earned pension and insurance benefits.

SOCIAL INSURANCE SUPPORTS A VARIABLE STANDARD OF LIVING

Finally, social insurance has as its purpose not only the maintenance of a minimum standard of living as set by the

community but the underpinning of a higher-than-minimum standard of living for a large proportion of the workers under the program. This is inherent in the fact that it pays without regard to other resources, whether or not the benefits alone would allow a higher-than-minimum standard.

There is no question, for example, but that even the very low benefits of the present old age and survivors' insurance program enable many people to live at a standard considerably above what the community would consider a reasonable minimum for a "means test" program and that others who receive the payment would be able to live above such a minimum even without the benefit. This is not an accident of clumsy design but a major purpose of social insurance. As in the case of a private pension, one objective is to help people to have enough income not merely to be free from want, or to bring them up to a community minimum, but to help them to secure the economic bases for happiness and contentment. It is a program not only for the poor but for whoever is in danger of suffering a major reduction in living standards. It is a program of preventing destitution, as well as curing it.⁴

Actually, there is nothing about social insurance to prevent payments which in themselves are more than enough to maintain minimum standards. Social insurance could never pay as much as the more liberal private pension systems, but it is by no means bound to pay only an amount which will give the content of a

⁴ This is not meant to imply that workers should be indefinitely guaranteed against a reduction in living standards but only that they become eligible for benefits under these circumstances. In unemployment insurance it is proper that one should be required to accept a job even though it means a reduction in living standards after the full opportunity to seek employment at one's highest skill has been without results.

comm
cable
the na
the na
such
When
provi
and s
a mo
ploym
over
we ar
determ
the co
than t
fits u
bine t
tion t
higher
assum
other
save f
is not
job t
do.

A r
to kee
assist
who v
sistan
very
live a
This
natory
a pro
both
upon
of rel
benefi
earner
streng
streng
wages
ability
the w
to wo

community-approved minimum applicable to all. The question is one of what the nation can afford and of how much of the national income we want to put into such benefits—not one of principle. When many current proposals would provide family benefits under old age and survivors' insurance as high as \$120 a month and when some state unemployment insurance systems already pay over \$100 a month to single persons, we are no longer dealing in community-determined minimums; many people in the community will have lower incomes than these and yet not be entitled to benefits under any program. When we combine this fact with the rough generalization that those who are entitled to the highest benefits are those who may be assumed to have the most income from other sources, since they had more to save from, it is clear that social insurance is not just another way of doing the same job that public assistance sets out to do.

A major purpose of social insurance is to keep people from having to apply for assistance, but it also performs for others who would not have been eligible for assistance under any circumstances the very valuable service of helping them to live above the community minimum. This objective would be unfair, discriminatory, and completely inappropriate in a program based upon need, but it is both right and proper in a program based upon work and earnings. Under a system of relating benefits to past wages, high benefits may be paid to highly paid wage-earners and the incentive system actually strengthened thereby, just as it is strengthened by differential payments in wages, or in a private pension or disability system. There is little danger that the wage-earner will prefer the benefits to work, in those parts of the program

where this is a factor, as long as his benefits are considerably below what he can earn while working. It is necessary to limit benefits for all to an amount below what the least skilled can earn only in a flat-benefit program.

DIFFERENCES IN TRADITION

These three important differences between social assistance and social insurance are inherent in the very nature of the two programs. They derive from the right to one being based on need, and the right to the other being based on work. Equally important at the present time and for a long time to come are differences in the two programs which are not inherent but which result from differences in origin and traditional attitudes toward the two programs. It is with respect to these differences that the concept of a right to assistance is making revolutionary changes.

One of the most striking contrasts between assistance and insurance in the United States at the present time is that what is freely conceded in the case of insurance requires a bitter, never completely won struggle in public assistance. For example, the right of the recipient to spend his benefit without restriction has seldom been questioned in the case of insurance but is a continual struggle in public assistance. In the same way, discretionary payments designed to enforce a code of conduct on the recipient different from that required of the rest of the community are not a problem in insurance. Yet, public assistance is carrying on a constant struggle against a tradition which used the payment as an excuse to reform or control the individual. There are probably many people who would still agree with Lewis Meriam when, speaking of those public assistance

recipients whom he considers unable to manage their own affairs, he says:

In such cases, the recipients of the benefits should be subject to the supervision of competent, professionally trained, public employees, and payments should be contingent upon suitable use and application of the public funds provided. . . . It seems reasonable to conclude that payment of public funds for persons whose need results from their personal limitations should be sufficiently contingent to make it necessary for the recipients to comply with minimum standards.⁵

He is not speaking here, of course, of those who have been judged mentally incompetent under legal procedure but of people who have a way of ordering their lives which he considers undesirable and whose behavior he considers evidence of "personal limitation." This doctrine means, in effect, that to obtain minimum security an individual would have to give up freedom of action and submit to the dictates of others on how he should conduct his life in those essentials where other citizens are allowed to make their own decisions.

Leaving aside the question of whether such supervision is practical, whether in this way you can really get people to act the way you want, an equally important point is that making security contingent on the surrender of personal integrity and freedom of action is exactly what we want to avoid in a democracy. This issue goes to the heart of the central political problem of our time—how can people obtain economic security in a way which preserves individual freedom and human dignity? How can we avoid the false dilemma, beloved of totalitarians, of having to choose between a means of livelihood, on the one hand, and freedom on the other? There is little danger of the

control of one person by another if the right to security is an earned right. It continues to be a danger in assistance as long as any important section of public opinion holds the traditional attitude, championed by Mr. Meriam, that a public assistance payment is not the recipient's own but a contingent gift from public funds.

Another important difference between the two programs, at present, is that the community frequently limits the amount of funds available for public assistance in such a way as to make a mockery of the concept of a right to a minimum standard of living. No feeling of contractual obligation to supply that minimum exists in fact, whereas a feeling of obligation to supply the amount written in the law does exist in social insurance. This is irrespective of whether the legal right to the two types of payments is equally strong.

Public assistance has arrived at the concept of right by way of a long, hard road. Its history is a combination of repression and punishment, on the one hand, and of humanitarian paternalism, on the other. While its worst features have been based on the idea that the individual was at fault and needed chastisement to make him better or that relief had to be made as unpleasant as possible or people would all refuse to work, equally destructive of the concept of right has been the paternalism which held that what the individual needed was reformation and help. Punitive or humanitarian, public assistance suffers from a history and tradition in which one group or class does something either to or for another.

Social insurance by-passed this tradition both of punishment and paternalism. Its origins are not in the poor law or in the voluntary activities of the wealthy and educated to improve the lot of the

⁵ Lewis Meriam, *Relief and Social Security* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1946), p. 867.

poor
of se
them
fund
socie
trade
vate
suran
tive
unwi
organ
class
instit
from
fixed
right
plem
strug
insur
made

To
titude
atten
tion i
ning,
servin
the in
of the
cial in
conne
wage
which
tradit
panyi
from
They
progra
tradit

The
simila
ferenc
social
freedo
nomic

poor. Its origins are in the sturdy efforts of self-reliant workmen to do things for themselves—in the sickness and death funds of the medieval guilds, the friendly societies, the fraternal orders, and the trade-unions. It borrows much from private pension plans and from private insurance and from a tradition of protective labor laws, frequently forced on an unwilling state by the power of workers' organizations. Here is no giving of one class to another but the development of institutions by those who are to benefit from them. Social insurance is firmly fixed in a tradition of self-help and earned right. Therefore, while assistance, in implementing the idea of right, must struggle to establish new attitudes, social insurance finds these attitudes ready made.

To make use of these ready-made attitudes and to avoid the struggle which attends the reformation of an old tradition is highly important in social planning, now at least, as important as preserving what is inherently different about the insurance approach. Part of the value of the contribution by the worker in social insurance and part of the value of connecting the benefits closely with the wage record lie in using the techniques which are readily identified with the tradition of self-help, with its accompanying freedom of action and freedom from the necessity of feeling grateful. They make doubly clear to all that this program has no connection with the tradition of the poor law.

CONCLUSION

There are, then, in spite of important similarities, very significant and real differences between public assistance and social insurance. From the standpoint of freedom, democratic values, and economic incentives, social insurance is

greatly to be preferred wherever there is a choice. It is important that, through an extension of coverage and an increase in social insurance benefits, it be made clear that public assistance is not a rival to the insurance method but a supplement to it, performing the residual task that will always exist for a last-resort program that takes responsibility for meeting total need. The goal of a progressive social security program should be to reduce the need for assistance to the smallest possible extent and at the same time to enforce it as a legal and moral right, with an administration free from the controls and the "humiliations and irritations of 'poor law' procedures."⁶

In attaining this goal, there is much to gain from the association of social insurance with assistance in the social security system. The fact that both devices are necessary, although different parts of a common program, reinforces the concept of assistance as a right. Insurance tends to be administered in the spirit of right, naturally and without question, and, through association, public assistance moves closer to an administration which is as firmly based in law and regulation and is as devoted to equity and definiteness as is insurance. The concept of public assistance as part of a broader social security program addressed to the total problem of income maintenance is important in the struggle to eliminate those undesirable features of assistance which are the result of tradition. The administration of insurance, on its side, can benefit from association with a program which calls for a higher skill in human relations and is able to contribute to the insurances from this skill.

There is no danger of assistance be-

⁶ George E. Bigge, "Looking Ahead in Public Assistance," *Social Security Bulletin*, VII (December, 1944), 4.

coming too attractive and taking the place of social insurance, providing social insurance is made to fill its proper role. Quite the contrary, there is a long fight ahead to make assistance merely endurable in a democratic state. Assistance is never something to look forward to, since like a life-raft it performs the function of rescue and is the accompaniment of disaster—at its best, it is a necessary evil. Social insurance, on the other hand, can be a positive good and in the

preventing of disaster and in helping a family to maintain an accustomed standard of living is to be likened more to the devices and regulations which protect the safety and comfort of passengers and reduce the need for life-rafts. As long as men value self-reliance, the alternative of earning one's security through work will be preferred to payments made because of need.

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SECURITY
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

T
exper
point
Th
vocat
tem i
facts
durin
Or
ness i
millio
depen
lation
of La
gover
amt)
ince
posed
larges
(Allg
ers a
long i
gories
(Betr
indivi
the g
specia

* Pro
Senate

* For
called
hospita
a reside
supervis
burg as
sisting
five ye
from th
panel p
and gyz

MEDICAL CARE UNDER COMPULSORY SICKNESS INSURANCE IN GERMANY

CURT STEFFEN, M.D., D.P.H., F.I.C.S.

THIS study¹ of the German compulsory sickness insurance is based on twenty years of practical medical experience² from the three medical viewpoints involved.

The purpose of this study is not to advocate the adoption of the German system in other countries but to present the facts regarding the German situation during the normal years.

Organization.—The compulsory sickness insurance in Germany covers twenty million members plus fourteen million dependents, almost half the entire population. It is supervised by the Ministry of Labor and administered by a special government office (*Reichversicherungsamt*) with branch offices in every province (*Landesversicherungsamt*). It is composed of different statutory bodies: the largest is the general sickness fund (*Allgemeine Ortskrankenkasse*), for workers and employees who do not belong in one of the following special categories; the industrial sickness fund (*Betriebs Krankenkasse*), operated by the individual plants; the sickness fund of the guilds (*Innungs Krankenkasse*), for special workmen's guilds; the miners'

fund (*Knappschafts Krankenkassen*), for the miners; the seamen's sick fund (*See-Krankenkasse*), for the merchant marine; and the farmers' sick fund (*Land Krankenkasse*), for farmhands. Such a decentralization has been proved superior to one giant centralized sick fund because it guarantees a certain autonomy of its administration exercised by employers and employees knowing the requirements of their respective labor groups by their own experience. Furthermore, it has been found more flexible in adapting the insurance benefits to the special needs and more economical than one unified mammoth sick fund, serving all the various types of wage- and salary-earners.

Criterion for membership in all these sick funds is an income not exceeding \$1,200 annually for the individual wage- or salary-worker. For these, membership is mandatory and goes automatically with employment on a pay-roll deduction plan, two-thirds paid by the employee and one-third by the employer, the insurance premium varying between 3-8 per cent of the basic wage. It guarantees the "right" to complete coverage in case of illness or accident for a period of twenty-seven to fifty-two weeks in each year to the member and his dependents. In case these weeks are exceeded, government relief takes over automatically and indefinitely. The same benefits are secured by the government to the unemployed and administered by the C.S.I. system.

Benefits.—The main features of the compulsory sickness insurance are the

¹ Prepared at the request of the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

² For five years—1918-23—I treated the so-called "panel" patients in different university hospitals in Hamburg and Berlin in my capacity as a resident gynecologist; for ten years—1923-33—I supervised the entire medical panel service in Hamburg as a physician-in-chief of a medical staff consisting of thirty-five certified specialists; and for five years—1933-37—after having been ousted from this public office by the Third Reich, I was a panel physician myself, specializing in obstetrics and gynecology.

different cash benefits. Compensation for loss of wages is assured the sick or injured worker and his dependents, payment being made at the rate of 50-60 per cent of his average wage for a maximum of twenty-six weeks yearly. Maternity benefit at the same rate for ten weeks and death benefit fifty times the daily wage also are a part of the program.

The system furnishes the following medical services: (1) physicians' service, including general practitioner, specialist, dentist; (2) nursing service, including institutional nurses, midwives, home nurses, and visiting nurses; (3) diagnostic laboratories and X-ray services; (4) supply of drugs, diets, glasses, and other medical appliances; (5) physical therapy, including radium and X-ray treatments; and (6) hospitalization in general and special hospitals, mental hospitals, sanitariums, and convalescent homes.

The insured and his dependents have an unlimited free choice of physicians, specialists, and hospitals, with almost 90 per cent of all physicians and hospitals participating voluntarily in the program. Services of specialists are directly available to the patient without permission of the attending practitioner. The patient is not assigned to a doctor, specialist, or hospital by anyone, he need not select his physician in advance, and he may change doctors at any time. If the patient desires extra service in a hospital, such as a private room, private nurses, etc., he pays only the additional cost of such specialties. These are asked only in exceptional cases.

Medical and hospital service.—The quality of medical service available through the C.S.I. depends largely on the quality of the physicians and hospitals rendering medical service. Since almost 90 per cent of the entire medical profession participates in the program, panel

physicians do not constitute a special class within the medical profession. All physicians come from medical schools of the same grade, since there are no unapproved medical schools in existence. All universities are state owned and have the same educational standards set up by the government. In pre-war days the medical schools of all universities were recognized as Grade-A medical schools by the American Medical Association. Internship has been required for at least the last twenty-five years, and about 80 per cent of the physicians have had one to two years' postgraduate training (residencies in approved hospitals) following internship. All panel physicians are required to hold membership in the German Medical Association with its strict code of medical ethics. All specialists on the list of the C.S.I. must be certified by a governmental statutory body (*Reichsärztekammer*) and must offer proof of two to seven years of full-time residence at an approved hospital, the length of time depending on the individual's medical specialty. This certification of specialists has been in force for the last twenty-five years. No osteopath, naturopath, chiropractor, optometrist, foot specialist, or any other nonmedical practitioner is eligible for the C.S.I. practice; none of these can style himself as a "doctor," since the only one existing is the M.D. (doctor of medicine) of the licensed physician and surgeon. The title "physician" (*Arzt*), as well as the title "M.D.," is protected by law and is bestowed by governmental authority only. The doctor is not forced into the C.S.I. by legislation, but his participation is more or less an economic necessity. He is on a fee-for-service basis, the fee schedule being made up by the C.S.I. in a contractual arrangement with the medical society, similar to the agreement between the Veterans Ad-

mini
cietic
mun
socie
extra
patie
rebat
ticab
is per
by th
take
he ca
strict
portio
locati
reside
vote
practi
in pri
ence v
his me
plies v
down
society

The
tion av
854 in
this lo
shorta
levelin
better
and po
to incr
dentist
service
in the
practic
ment. V
the pat
would n
and a h
not be
ices. Th
rates p
annual
as show

ministration and the state medical societies in our country. He gets his remuneration directly from the medical society and is not allowed to accept any extra payments for his services from panel patients. Therefore, fee-splitting—or a rebate from any source—is not practicable inasmuch as the bulk of surgery is performed by hospital physicians, paid by the municipalities. The physician can take as much panel practice as he wishes; he can reject patients; and he is unrestricted in his private practice. The proportion of his panel work depends on his location—whether in an industrial or a residential district. Very few doctors devote themselves exclusively to panel practice, and few are engaged exclusively in private practice. There is no interference with a doctor's political concepts or his medical practice so long as he complies with the statutory provisions laid down by the C.S.I. and his local medical society.

The ratio of physicians to the population averages 1 to 1,200 compared to 1 to 854 in the United States, and, in spite of this low ratio, the C.S.I. never felt a shortage of physicians, because of the leveling effect of panel practice and the better distribution of physicians in rural and poorer districts. The C.S.I. is bound to increase the earnings of physicians, dentists, and druggists whose fee-for-service payments, although much smaller in the individual case than in private practice, are guaranteed by the government. Without the C.S.I., 50 per cent of the patients in the hardship-level group would not be able to consult a physician, and a high percentage of the rest would not be in a position to pay for his services. Therefore, in spite of the very low rates paid to the physician, the average annual pre-war income of physicians was as shown in Table 1.

The amount of panel practice the physician actually gets—since no limit on the number of the patients he may treat is set up—depends, as in private practice, upon his initiative, personal qualifications, and professional reputation. For the young physician, located in a predominantly panel area, it means a chance of getting a start, together with the opportunity of building a private practice through recommendations by his panel patients to private patients. At the same time, the C.S.I. leads to fuller occupation of the average physician, since the number of minor ailments brought to his at-

TABLE 1

Average Annual Income of Panel Physicians*	Percentage of Panel Physicians Receiving
\$2,000.....	56.5
\$2,000-\$4,000.....	23.5
\$4,000-\$6,000.....	12.0
\$6,000-\$8,000.....	4.5
\$8,000 and over.....	3.5

* To these figures must be added income from the unlimited private practice.

tention is higher on account of the removal of the financial barrier between the patient and the physician. For the same reason the physician may care for many more routine cases, referring those which require more attention to the specialist or to the hospital. He will not lose his patient by this procedure, since the specialist is strictly limited to his specialty and both of them receive their fees from the C.S.I. The result is that the panel patient actually gets more specialized service than the average private patient can secure and that the general practitioner works in closest co-operation with the specialist. This type of medical practice is considered superior to group practice by the German Medical Association, which claims that the best

and certainly the cheapest medical care is given by the general practitioner, who has the confidence of his patients and knows their background. Other factors that allow the panel doctor to handle more cases in his office and to make more house calls are that he has no charity cases and that he has very few hospitalized patients under his care. This latter is due to the nation-wide hospital organization, which is based on a predominantly public system. Being true community hospitals, they provide care for people from all walks of life: 60 per cent of their beds are occupied by C.S.I. patients, 33 per cent by relief patients, and 7 per cent by private patients.³ Eighty per cent of the panel patients requiring hospitalization are treated in municipally owned institutions, which have closed staffs or specialists. These men work on a salary basis, whereas the panel physician is not paid by the C.S.I. for hospital work. Since these salaried hospital physicians are the leading men in their specialty and include most of the university faculty members, the patient is assured the best medical and surgical care available in the country. These well-qualified men, having no financial interest in the case, likewise protect the patient from exposure to incompetent and unnecessary surgery.

Many municipally owned hospitals, which maintain 80 per cent of all the hospital beds in the country, may seem to be antiquated in their architectural design, just as are many government and county hospitals in other countries, due to the fact that they are not built and managed by private enterprise under competition. But their equipment is up to date, and the quality of their medical service, for the reasons given, is the best available in

the nation. All hospitals are guaranteed freedom in the management of their affairs and have only a contractual arrangement with the C.S.I. concerning the fee for the daily occupation of a bed, half of which is paid by the C.S.I., the rest by the government, state, city, or municipality. Those large governmental hospital subsidies must be added to the two billion reichsmark expenses each year for the C.S.I. system.

Administration.—With such vast public revenues involved, a large bureaucratic machine with an average cost of 7 per cent of the entire C.S.I. budget (one sick fund employee to seven hundred insured members) has been proved necessary by experience over many decades to check abuses—not only on the part of the insured tempted to demand more attention than he requires but on the part of the panel doctors distributing public funds and tempted to add to their income by rendering unnecessary services. So far as the patients are concerned, the cash benefit is tempting, particularly in times of depression, unemployment, strikes, and on holidays. Therefore, the patient's disability, if carrying a cash benefit, is rechecked by a physician (*Vertrauensarzt*) employed on a salary basis by the local branch office of the sick fund or in larger cities by a medical board of consultant specialists, working on the group-practice principle (*Vertrauensarztstelle*).⁴ Those medical attachés of the C.S.I. work in close cooperation with a staff of trained lay inspectors who visit most of the disabled patients at their homes and report all who apparently are not actually disabled for re-examination by the medical board. They combine this police-like function, necessary to control absenteeism, with

³ Monograph (in German) dealing with hospital facilities, by Curt Steffen, M.D. (published by the Board of Health, Hamburg, 1930).

⁴ Curt Steffen, *Das Hamburger Vertrauensarztssystem* (Berliner Aertzte Correspondenz, 1931).

other
patie
of h
nurs
this
dent
tions
37 p
ined
were
to th
patie
with
been
patie
are a
Then
tient
cent
entit
same
regul
fiftee
sickn
trivis
W
certa
sary
servi
boar
bran
with
a pe
slips
tor,
visi
vidu
age
may
his n
tinue
be d
by th

⁵ S
den G
Krank

other activities—such as checking the patient's home environment, advisability of hospitalization, necessity of home nursing, etc. The absolute necessity of this supervisory procedure becomes evident from the result of such re-examinations. According to my own statistics,⁵ 37 per cent of 35,000 patients re-examined each year over a ten-year period were found not incapacitated to work. If to those figures the number of disabled patients who return to work voluntarily without re-examination is added, it has been shown that about 60 per cent of the patients receiving sickness cash benefit are actually not incapacitated for work. There are other restrictions on the patient, such as his contribution (10-20 cents) for a slip (*Krankenschein*) which entitles him to see the doctor, and the same amount for a prescription. Those regulations were introduced more than fifteen years ago to curtail unnecessary sickness claims and the use of drugs for trivial complaints.

With regard to the panel physician, certain restrictions were also found necessary to check abuses. The entire medical service is statistically supervised by a board composed of the local C.S.I. branch (*Krankenkasse*) in co-operation with the local medical society. It includes a periodical survey of the cash-benefit slips and prescriptions issued by the doctor, the number of hospital cases, office visits, and house calls. In case the individual doctor regularly exceeds the average of his colleagues in his district, he may be forced to accept a reduction of his monthly remuneration, or, if he continues this abuse of public funds, he may be disqualified from further panel work by the board.

He also is supervised by a medical board attached to the C.S.I. with regard to hospitalization of his patients. Except for emergency cases, hospitalization must be indorsed by the board before admission, in order to avoid unnecessary hospitalization. He is also limited in his prescriptions to a list of drugs approved by the C.S.I. and the local medical society, to prevent nonessential high-cost medication and patent medicine.

In general, it is safe to say that the panel patient does not receive luxurious medical care—for he does not have any but the most necessary diagnostic laboratory tests and he does without X-ray examinations and fancy drugs—but he gets all the essential medical, dental, and hospital care needed to restore his health and to send him back to his job in the shortest possible time. The panel patient seems to be satisfied with the medical service rendered, since only a negligible number consult nonpanel doctors, nor does he visit the very few cultists and quacks existing in Germany or seek refuge in patent medicines, which are almost unknown.⁶ The doctor is not burdened with paper work. It does not exceed that required in private practice, although he is obligated to keep thorough records of his cases, which are registered with the C.S.I. administration. This medical record (*Krankenkarte*) accompanies the patient from the cradle to the grave and represents an invaluable life-chart for the administration as well as for all attending physicians and hospitals. This is a confidential record, considered "privileged communication" and protected by a special law (*Schweigepflicht*), which is strictly enforced not only on doctors, nurses, and medical secre-

⁵ Steffen, *Einwirkungen der Wirtschaftskrise auf den Gesundheitszustand der Versicherten* ("Deutsche Krankenkasse," No. 30, 1932).

⁶ No drug whatsoever may be sold by a pharmacist without a doctor's prescription, eliminating self-medication completely.

taries but also on all lay employees of the C.S.I.

Preventive medicine.—The C.S.I., realizing that the prevention of disease is the most economical and effective policy, has played an outstanding role in preventive medicine. The compulsory insurance principle, per se giving almost half the population free access to every type of medical service, is bound to increase the demand for medical service and to result in an earlier diagnosis and treatment at a time when the latter is more effective. Therefore, the C.S.I., closely linked with the public health organization, took an active part in any prophylactic campaign enabled by numerous laws to force the issue of prevention. Where public clinics were maintained, the panel patients were referred to them. In the larger cities, the sick funds conducted their own clinics for tuberculosis, venereal diseases, birth control, cancer, varicose veins, and mental hygiene. They also built modern orthopedic institutions for the treatment of spinal deformities in children, rheumatic and arthritis sanitariums, solaria to control rickets and scrofula, milk kitchens for ultraviolet irradiation of milk, X-ray departments for routine chest examinations, inhalatoria, large physiotherapeutic departments, lunchrooms for undernourished children, diet kitchens, vacation homes in the forests and on the seabeaches for the city youth, convalescent homes for overworked laborers. These modern establishments were considered exemplary in the field of prevention by the Hygiene Commission of the League of Nations, on the occasion of an inspection tour of this international body in 1931. Thus, in 1930, the C.S.I. in Hamburg offered for the first time in the world a free periodical examination to all women to control cancer, with the result

that 10,000 women attended this public Cancer Prevention and Detection Clinic yearly.⁷

All venereal diseases among panel patients were reported routinely by the administration to the health department, and compulsory treatment was required by law. This led to such a low rate of venereal disease in pre-war Germany that the medical teachers had trouble in finding early cases of syphilis, even in an international harbor city like Hamburg, for demonstration purposes. In seaports special venereal clinics for the merchant marine were in operation, and the diseased seamen were quarantined. Smallpox vaccination, made obligatory by law, was carried out by the C.S.I. Every member of the C.S.I. received free of charge a magazine for health education monthly and was entitled to a free physical examination by the board of consultants at any time. It is superfluous to say that the strict German health laws, the "must" behind all regulations of the C.S.I., and the respectful attitude of the overdisciplined German people combined to make this vast preventive program successful.

General health standard.—The C.S.I., therefore, deserves credit for the comparatively high standard of health and medicine in pre-war Germany. Since there are no better judges on this topic than medical representatives of the leading nation in world medicine, I refer to our own experts and their opinion on German medical standards.

Dr. Morris Fishbein of the A.M.A. spoke of the "Medical World Center" in Berlin, which he wanted to see taken over by Chicago. Dr. W. V. Kennedy wrote, "No one will claim that lower standards

⁷ Professor H. Hinselmann, *Einführung in die Kolposkopie* (Hamburg: Paul Hartung, 1930).

of me
pean
Chur
surgi
medic
and
world
Lieut
who
wrote
ment
tiona
Germ
ough
contr
ever
repor
healt
demic
destr

Th
form
can h
tem.
of th
throu
time
rated
was
medi
know
tary
flict,
cal c

Al
feren
the c
tions
ment
that
level

8 A
CXX

9 R
for th

of medical training are the rule in European countries."⁸ Colonel Edward D. Churchill, Allied Mediterranean forces surgical consultant, wrote of "German medicine's world-wide pre-Hitler fame and Germany's once proud position as world leader in medicine and surgery."⁹ Lieutenant Colonel Richard L. Meiling, who toured Germany after this war, wrote in the United States War Department's publication for 1945: "The national medical and health organization of Germany was perhaps the most thorough, powerful, closely knit body for the control of a nation's health the world has ever seen." The same War Department report credits the well-organized public health service for the absence of epidemics expected as a result of the vast destruction of German cities.

Thus, the deterioration of Germany's former outstanding tradition in medicine can hardly be blamed on its C.S.I. system. Rather it is the logical consequence of the Nazi philosophy, which seeped through the nation after 1930. From that time on, medicine undoubtedly deteriorated rapidly because the Third Reich was not interested in medical training, medical research, and medical scientific knowledge. Its only interest lay in military preparation for the impending conflict, and the result was a complete medical collapse.

Alternative systems.—Why did the different German governments adhere to the compulsory approach? The explanations are obvious. No German government was able to promote an economy that provided a standard of living on a level where medical care could be pro-

vided by private medicine to the lower-income groups. Charity practiced only on a small scale is not popular with the German people. The relief system, with its requirement of a "means test," is also unpopular. That leaves only one alternative—prepaid voluntary sickness insurance. Private insurance in the field of sickness plays only a minor role in Germany and serves mostly the middle- and upper-income groups. It could not cope with the extensive C.S.I. system for many reasons. The German, in general, is more likely to look to a governmental authority for protection than to rely on privately owned institutions. The private sickness insurance plans in Germany actually do not and cannot give the comprehensive coverage of the national C.S.I., or, in case they do, their premium rates are far beyond the financial capacity of those in the \$1,200 annual-income group. Their plans are generally restricted; they operate on a profit basis; and, therefore, they try to get the better risks. Except for a very few operated on a co-operative basis, they fail to give any representation in their administration to the policyholder. Their fee schedule is not obligatory on the hospital or to the attending physician, and adequate compensation for loss of wages is seldom provided. It goes without saying that the hardship-level group, due to the continuous struggle for the necessities of life, is the least likely to buy sickness insurance voluntarily.

Summary.—The national compulsory sickness insurance system in Germany, until 1947 limited strictly to the lower-income groups, has groped its way methodically for many decades, mainly on account of the typical German philosophy of life. A traditional connection with the name of Bismarck did its part to

⁸ *American Medical Association Journal*, CXXXI, No. 3 (1946), 237.

⁹ Reprint of the National Physicians' Committee for the Extension of Medical Service, 1945.

make it an integral component part of the German national structure. This tradition and the inability of alternative systems to render complete coverage to the indigent seem the main reasons for the political support of the system in force by the majority of the German political parties. It is an economic necessity for the medical profession. Even the Nazi regime, which tore down the Weimar Constitution, realized the impossibility of a retreat from the elaborate C.S.I. system and kept its destructive hands off this powerful political weapon. Still, there were many objections to its operation, not so much to the compulsion and economically necessary regimentation, but to the steady rise in expenditures, which surpassed two billion reichsmark annually, not including the vast government subsidies to the hospitals. This was in spite of the attempts of German social economists to carry this cost on the credit side of the nation's budget, reassuring its return in the form of manpower efficiency and national health. But the C.S.I. never ceased to be a storm center for all groups involved, requiring constant change in its laws and regulations. The employer group fought continuously for cuts in appropriations for administration, including medical services; the insured group hoped for further expansion of medical care and increased compensation for loss of wages; the medical profession wanted higher remuneration; the sick fund civil service employees worked for an increase in salary; the different C.S.I. branches wished for hegemony within the C.S.I. system, with the government in the middle. Even strikes of the panel physicians could not be avoided, and yet nobody could check the alarming rise of the operating cost of the system, originating mainly from the steady increase of mor-

bidity (from 28.6 in 1923 to 55.4 in 1934 per one hundred insured), from the prolonged duration of incapacity (from ten days in 1923 to fourteen days in 1934), and from the increase of the period of hospitalization (to an average of twenty-eight days in 1934), according to my own statistics published in *Social Medicine* in 1934. Whether those figures should be considered an unfavorable aspect of the system itself appears questionable, since the growing industrialization, economic depression, lack of housing and employment, aging population, and many years of social unrest may be contributory factors, inasmuch as comparative figures on a like large scale from other countries are not available.

^v In general, it is safe to say that the C.S.I. system, being in operation up to the present time, has contributed substantially to the care and welfare of the medically indigent in Germany. In nations where freedom is the highest ideal of the people and a natural antipathy to coercive measures is prevalent, a compulsory approach to meet an existent health urgency seems to be justified only if it cannot be avoided. This is especially true if such a system is planned to be forced on a large part of the population, which does not belong strictly in the "needy" category.

In what may perhaps be described as the "have-not" nations, the government will be confronted with an acute imperative health need of a medically indigent group, the size of which will be in direct proportion to the national economic level. In case this needy group constitutes such a large part of the population that funds for medical services cannot be made available from public revenues, compulsory sickness insurance may be necessary. It then should be for the population as a whole and not for the lower-

income
tion
taxa
—be
nobl
othe
tion
The
in t
Germ
tary
the
into
versi
mate
emp
the
comp
play
play
mitt
volu
No
whic
appr
impo
seen
stand
In
on a
para
appr
comp
lowin
by p
even
on ac
fits.
of th
the

income group or to a part of the population only, since it must be supported by taxation. Such a national C.S.I. system—being no more than a refined and nobler type of public assistance—on the other hand, means more or less socialization and nationalization of medicine. The latter has been made complete lately in the Russian zone of occupation in Germany. By decree of the Soviet Military Government on January 28, 1947, the unification of all insurance branches into one social insurance board (*Sozialversicherungsanstalt*) covering sickness, maternity, invalidity, old age, and unemployment, has been established, and the foregoing coverage has been made compulsory for all wage-earners, employees, and even employers not employing more than five employees, permitting the rest of the citizens to join voluntarily without any income limit.

No justification for such a social order which may constitute the only realistic approach to the reconstruction of the impoverished German people can be seen for a democratic nation with a high standard of living.

In case the number of persons living on a precarious subsistence level is comparatively small, the public assistance approach seems to me preferable to the compulsory insurance system for the following reasons: (1) The former, financed by public funds, will be needed, in any event, to supplement the C.S.I. system on account of the limitation of its benefits. (2) It distributes the cost of sickness of the medical "have nots" evenly over the entire population and does not

change the whole system of the practice of medicine. (3) It shares the psychological factor of the means test with the C.S.I. system because the panel patient is more or less stigmatized, too, by belonging to a low-income group. (4) It is much simpler and less costly to administer than an expensive compulsory insurance system, particularly in nations operating other branches of social insurance or public assistance. (5) Last, but not least, it lacks the unpopular compulsory approach. The adequacy of the medical services to be provided depends solely on the constructual arrangements to be made by the government with the medical profession, hospitals, dispensaries, public clinics, etc. A government of a prosperous nation with a stabilized economy should be financially able and should feel socially obligated to set aside adequate appropriations from its tax revenues to grant every needy citizen the right to all necessary preventive and curative medical services.

For all those apparent reasons, it is unpredictable whether a system blueprinted or redesigned after the German pattern, requiring expenditures of about eleven to fourteen billion dollars annually, for instance, for a like American program, large numbers of government and state officials, strict bureaucratic control, and regimentation as a *conditio sine qua non*, will operate smoothly and efficiently in nations with completely different social economics, traditions, and ideologies.

ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS

THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE VETERAN IN A DEMOCRACY

GEORGE W. EBEL¹

IT is a distinct privilege for me to have the opportunity of speaking to you here about "The Social Responsibility of the Veteran in a Democracy." For the topic is one about which I have done much thinking since I left the Air Force; the conference group constitutes one of the more important and wholesome forces on the American scene; and the city of San Francisco to a native Californian, born and reared in the Bay area, as I was, is a matchless city—a city rich in history and culture and industry—a strong city. In this setting are blended the rugged friendliness of pioneer days, the courage of the rebirth after the Great Fire, the hope for the future that made it an appropriate cradle for the chartering of the United Nations. Frank Norris has called it, along with New York and New Orleans, one of the story cities of our nation. Though you really have to see it from the nose of a bomber to appreciate it fully, I recommend the Top-o'-the-Mark as an acceptable substitute. I hope you will see, in the late afternoon, the engineering marvel of our bridges and view the green hills of Marin County and Berkeley, across the bay. And I hope you will remain after dusk to watch the city put on her evening dress of a million sparkling lights. Above all, I hope you will take just a moment to reflect upon what one accurately aimed, guided missile with an atomic warhead would do in a matter of seconds to the generations of constructive achievement San Francisco represents.

¹ California state chairman, American Veterans Committee, in a talk given at the National Conference of Social Work, San Francisco, April, 1947.

Lost in the rubble would be the courage and the friendliness, the strength and the gaiety. Gone too would be the greed and the pettiness, the hysteria and the mistrust, which give a quality of reality to talk of atomic warfare. Obviously, I am not thinking of San Francisco alone. I am speaking of *your* city or *your* town, which would look as bright and shining to you from the nose of a bomber as San Francisco does to those who love her best.

I do not enjoy being either dramatic or alarmist. I do believe that we must face realistically what failure to assume our responsibilities may mean to civilization as we know it.

Certainly everyone would agree that there is a plethora of responsibilities to be assumed—by veteran and nonveteran alike. Many World War II veterans already have accepted positions of leadership. One need only look at the number of new veterans in the current Congress to appreciate this fact—men like Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Congressman Kennedy. Others occupy similar positions in industry, labor, and the professions. It is my belief that they will have a wholesome effect upon our national life.

At the same time, the government has recognized its responsibilities toward many veterans. Those who have returned to school appreciate the advantages of the education feature of the G.I. Bill of Rights and the spirit with which it was provided. The hospitalization of the mentally and physically disabled is playing a large part in the rehabilitation of our handicapped veterans. The vast majority of veterans support wholehearted-

ly the leadership of General Omar Bradley in the Veterans Administration. They consider him a great citizen, a great American of unimpeachable integrity, whose major interest is the welfare of the veteran.

As we turn to other aspects of our national life, however, one senses that the veteran is becoming increasingly disillusioned about the "land of milk and honey" that he sometimes dreamed about in the foxholes. He has come home to find prices skyrocketing; black marketeers having a field day; a certain section of the population whipping up sentiment for a new war, an atomic and biological war, *now*; fiery crosses, the symbol of racial intolerance, burning not only in the Deep South but in the Far West as well; well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed individuals mournfully predicting an economic recession in the near future (a rose by another name would smell as sweet); landlords withholding rental properties from the market in an organized effort to assassinate the last vestiges of effective price control; the house he sold to join the armed forces available for repurchase at three or four times the original price; many congressmen apparently much more interested in satisfying the real-estate lobbies than in providing adequate housing for the nation's citizens.

Is it any wonder that the returning veteran sometimes uses picturesque G.I. language to describe the treatment he is receiving? And equally descriptive phraseology for the fouled-up situation in which he finds the country?

Some veterans were cynical during the war. They expressed their skepticism in grim humor about the corner on which they would sell apples after the war. Others were optimistic. They were engaged in a struggle they considered to be

a deathless cause. They were being truly useful. They were serving their fellowmen. They were firmly convinced that they would return to civilian life to find a well-run society, with vast improvements the inevitable result of the greatest community of effort in the history of mankind. How would it be possible for the nation that had supported so fervently the one supreme enterprise to return to the snarling credo of every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost? For the idealist, coming home from war has been one long, cruel delusion.

But the delusion should not lead to despair, and disillusionment may actually be wholesome if it convinces the average veteran of the need for responsible leadership, if it induces him to accept more fully *his* share of social responsibility in our democracy. There must be an increasing number of veterans whose thinking coincides with that expressed by an American artillery corporal in 1944 from the bitter mountains of Italy when he wrote:

All of us here grope for some solid means which would transfer the helm of the future into our hands, some device which would break for all time the rhythm of war, the stranglehold of inept standards and powerful, anonymous control. When the soldier gets back, he shall want more than a pat on the back and a drink or two. He shall want to be an eager partner in the reconstruction, who has learned much, who can give much, and who is afraid of nothing.

As you know, there is one school of thought which believes that the responsibilities of the veteran are no greater than those of any other citizen, that the most important objective should be to get the veteran to *forget* that he is a veteran, to hasten his return to the uncontaminated status of a civilian. I suppose this position has some merit, but as Charles Bolte, our national A.V.C. chairman, recently said: "It is difficult to forget one

is a veteran when he has to live with his mother-in-law."

There are others who believe that the social responsibilities of the veteran are greater than those of the nonveteran. They reason that here are the men and women—for the most part young men and women—who contributed so significantly to our nation's recent war program—a war program unparalleled in military history, a tribute to American creative genius. Here are the ones who sailed or flew to all parts of the globe to turn the tide of battle—the ones who saw close friends and comrades give "their last full measure of devotion" on sometimes little-known or soon-forgotten beaches or fields or watery expanses throughout the world. Certainly these men and women—regardless of color, creed, or national origin—who willingly gave so much in defense of our democratic ideals should feel more keenly their responsibilities for achieving in peace the purposes for which the war was fought.

The organization for which I speak today—the American Veterans Committee—subscribes to this latter viewpoint. As many of you know, A.V.C. has as its motto, "Citizens first, Veterans second"; as its major purpose, the achievement of a "more democratic and prosperous America and a more stable world." We believe that many of our most pressing problems—such problems as world peace, full employment, racial and religious co-operation, a stable economy, adequate housing for our nation's citizens—are problems which we hold in common with the vast majority of other citizens. Consistently we have maintained that it is important to organize as veterans and to act as citizens in order to make an impact upon the shaping of the future.

I believe that it is very important for a veteran interested in assuming his re-

sponsibilities (and every G.I. should be) to join a veterans' organization which reflects his outlook upon the affairs of men and which is sufficiently flexible to be responsive to his thinking. In our complex society it is only through organization that the veteran of World War II can become a full and responsible partner in the enterprise of achieving peace, jobs, and freedom. It is only through organization that the idea of the American artillery corporal in the bitter mountains of Italy can become a reality.

There may be room to suspect that some do not entirely welcome the veteran's assuming his social responsibilities. After all, the World War II veteran is young and adaptable. In many instances he has had time to do some thinking in a foxhole or the bowels of a ship or the cockpit of a plane. In some instances he has known the stench of dead human flesh—flesh he may have called by name a short time before. In every instance he has had to substitute new patterns of action for old in order to accomplish his objectives. He has learned how to get things done. All these experiences have an influence upon an individual's philosophy. And when the new veteran talks about dynamic and positive democracy, in all probability he is not talking about a 20 per cent income-tax cut as a first Congressional order of business. In all probability he will be talking about action which means something in terms of human values. So I hope you are aware that suggesting that the new veteran assume his social responsibilities is fraught with danger—particularly if you believe that pre-Victorian concepts of democracy are ideally suited to an age of atomic energy and long-range bombers.

In preparation for this talk today I have discussed the subject with at least a hundred World War II veterans in

Cal
gro
me
du
sibi
to
it?
V
ful,
sive
pre
thro
mar
ent
The
Gen
proc
tion
tant
give
con
gain
Hith
T
well
hist
on h
her
of h
tive
solv
the
mus
W
offer
carry
glob
sive
in fa
char
bolst
tegic
Figur
migh
of "
a pu

California—some individually, some in groups. From them I have received numerous suggestions. I believe I can reduce all to a single idea: It is the responsibility of the veteran in a democracy to make democracy work. Simple, isn't it?

We believe that, in order to be successful, democracy must assume the offensive. During the last war the Allied supreme headquarters knew Germany was through long before D-Day on the Normandy beaches. It was especially apparent to the leadership of the air forces. The tip-off was in the decision of the German high command to shift from the production of bombers to the production of fighter planes. Such action was tantamount to admission that she had given up the offensive, that she would be content to consolidate and defend her gains. Our top leadership knew that Hitler's days were numbered.

Today our nation's leadership may well take a second look at this page in history. When democracy decides to rest on her laurels, to consolidate and defend her gains, she will be planting the seeds of her own destruction. It is only a positive and dynamic democracy which can solve our nation's ills and help bind up the wounds of the world. Democracy must stay on the offensive.

When I speak of democracy on the offensive, obviously I do not contemplate carrying the gospel to all parts of the globe by force of arms. Such an aggressive policy would be fruitless and would, in fact, be essentially undemocratic in character. Nor do I mean that we should bolster with military support every strategically located country in the world. Figuratively speaking, such a policy might easily be considered the beginning of "our production of fighter planes"—a purely defensive measure.

Our position in world affairs should not be underemphasized. Yet, when I speak of democracy on the offensive, I am thinking not only of the world situation but also of the less dramatic, less breath-taking, equally as important, problems of democracy on the home front.

In order to make democracy work, it seems to me a primary requirement that all of us understand quite specifically what democracy means. This suggestion may seem rudimentary. In a vague way we all know, or feel that we already know, what democracy means. Yet when we are pinned down, we are likely to think back to our elementary or high-school days and come up with the Lincolnian concept of a "government of the people; by the people; and for the people." The definition is excellent. Would that more governments could qualify! But I think Lincoln would have agreed that democracy is more than a political theory—it is a way of life affecting men in all their daily relationships. That's the reason, of course, that its implementation is so difficult.

Let me take a moment to expand upon this concept of democracy, for it is within this framework that I want to elaborate upon the social responsibility of the veteran. Democracy is a way of life which exalts the individual, which places great emphasis upon the human worth of the individual regardless of creed, color, or national origin. It is a way of life which promotes a high quality of associated living among men. It is a way of life which places great faith in the common man, encouraging participation in activities by all who are concerned. It is a way of life which substitutes the light of intelligence for the heat of emotion—which encourages the methods of science in the solution of problems and discourages

demagoguery and charlatanry and the magic of the witch doctor.

This concept of democracy as a social ideal broadens its meaning beyond governmental affairs in the narrow sense and into the varied aspects of community life, into business, the school, family life, and even into relationships within a veterans' organization.

Like most glittering generalities, this concept of democracy would, I believe, receive overwhelming support by Americans throughout the nation. For it is sufficiently abstract. It is only when one attempts to begin its implementation that difficulties arise. So let's tackle the difficult and become more specific.

The list of problems is longer than your arm. If we went into all the ramifications, it probably would stretch across the Golden Gate Bridge to the green hills of Marin County. I can mention but a few problems. I can elaborate upon fewer.

What does democracy on the offensive mean when we approach such problems as racial and religious harmony, world co-operation, full and fair employment, equality of educational opportunity, the conservation and wise utilization of our natural resources, national security, adequate housing for our nation's citizens, decency and dignity in the handling of veterans' affairs, the provision of health and medical services, full opportunity for wholesome recreation, the rights and responsibilities of labor and industry, care for our aged, freedom from political oppression, a sense of belongingness and a positive program of constructive achievement for youth, freedom to seek the truth in controversial areas? What does our concept of democracy mean when we consider such mundane topics as the present price of pork chops? Or the proposed blanket increase in rent ceilings?

Or the 160-acre limitation in the Central Valleys Project? It is when we begin thinking about such specific applications as these that our offensive may bog down, at least momentarily.

Suppose we spend a little time elaborating upon a few of these ideas. We in A.V.C. believe racial and religious harmony to be a condition of first importance in American life. The color of a man's skin made no difference to a bullet during the war. It should not serve as a basis for segregating Americans in the struggle to win the peace.

Yet, in California within the last six months there has been evidence that not all Americans agree with this position. Last December within twenty-five miles of San Francisco the home of a Negro war veteran was burned to the ground because he refused to heed a warning to move from the neighborhood. More recently five hundred high-school students went on strike in Los Angeles against the presence in their classrooms of Americans whose skins are a different color. In another city a nursery-school teacher circulated a petition among parents requesting transfer of a colored child, claiming she couldn't bear to touch him. In still another community a Negro war veteran has been traveling fifty miles to get his hair cut because local barbers consider his patronage economically inadvisable. I am happy to report that in all four instances of discrimination which I have described the forces of democracy *did* take the offensive. In three of the four instances the American Veterans Committee was a very active participant in democracy's offensive.

What is happening to the Negro is occurring also on a varied scale to Americans of Japanese and Latin-American ancestry, as well as to individuals of minority religious groups. It has not been

too long
many
again
United
liefs.
a com
emph
individu
ated l

And
housing
want
consti
posse
when
groun
return
had m
both.
dian o
after
by se
we ar
well-h
sense
profit
seriou
shorta
worke
wear
deal w

In
Bradl
have
than
grips
these
marrie
with f
million
need r
have b
ing for
have b
church
ens o

too long ago, you will remember, that many citizens went to the polls to vote *against* a candidate for President of the United States because of his religious beliefs. Where do these attitudes fit in with a concept of democracy which includes emphasis upon the human worth of the individual and a high quality of associated living among men?

And then there is the problem of housing. You would expect a veteran to want to talk about housing, for veterans constitute a large part of the present dispossessed generation. We are amused when informed that on February 2 the ground hog left his hole and upon his return was dismayed to find a veteran had moved in. We are sympathetic with both. And we smile when a radio comedian quips that the housing shortage is, after all, just a vicious rumor—started by several million homeless people. But we are very much concerned when some well-housed individuals, with a very poor sense of humor but a very keen sense of profit-taking, apparently are accepting seriously the suggestion that the housing shortage is just a vicious rumor. Social workers know better. So do those who wear the ruptured duck. So do men who deal with veterans' affairs.

In a recent address General Omar Bradley said: "Few postwar problems have afflicted the veteran more severely than the acute housing shortage which grips the nation today." He revealed these facts: More than a quarter of all married veterans are living doubled up with families and friends; more than two million veterans are living in houses that need major repairs; two student veterans have been discovered who have been living for seven months in a car; two others have been living in the empty belfry of a church; families have moved their chickens out and turned the poultry houses

into dwelling quarters; the same has been done with garages. General Bradley said that the housing crisis "has spelled more misery for many veterans than they were forced to endure in the war."

And the G.I. General could very easily have elaborated upon what impossible housing conditions mean in terms of ill health, disrupted family relationships, wrecked marriages and broken homes, inability to secure adequate education, changed vocational objectives, frustration, crime, and group conflict. And I contend that our concept of democracy, which includes the human worth of the individual and a high quality of associated living among men, has a direct bearing upon the problem of housing. Morally and socially, there is no more pressing problem in the nation today.

Those of us who beheld the flood of war matériel pour forth to overwhelm the enemy know the productive capabilities of our nation. The same flood of housing is both possible and desirable. Yet within the last six months we have witnessed the knifing of Wilson Wyatt's veterans' housing program by men of small stature in high places, and we have observed how effectively the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill was "smothered with the silken pillow of parliamentary procedure" in the House Committee on Banking and Currency. A.V.C. contends that a decent home in a decent neighborhood should be the birthright of every American. Where is democracy's offensive on the housing front? Is it possible that, for some, keeping housing a scarce commodity has become financially advantageous?

It would be less than gracious if I were to fail to mention the progressive men and women in our legislatures who consistently vote in favor of social progress—men and women of sterling character

who by their daily actions say, "The people, yes." These legislators we applaud and acclaim. Our actions should be designed to give them greater support.

Let's turn for a moment to other aspects of democracy on the offensive. You will remember that I defined democracy as a way of life that stresses participation in activities of common concern and that accepts the objectivity of science rather than the ways of the witch doctor or the demagogue. You probably realize that I am still talking about a social *ideal*.

The problem of participation can be rather disconcerting at times. Democracy's success depends upon broad and intelligent participation by a large majority of its citizens. It takes time to become informed and energy to participate in worth-while activities. It is much easier for one to find his security in a black shirt or in the discipline of a party line. It is much easier, also, to spend one's time getting jittery about the world situation over another champagne cocktail or another round of bridge. It's much more difficult, apparently, for some to indulge in such a relatively simple activity as the exercise of their right to vote.

And, believe me, I do not think that going to the polls once every year or two or four should begin to qualify as democratic participation. I don't think that's what the American artillery corporal meant when he expressed his desire "to be an eager partner in the reconstruction." I think that there is a responsibility for everyone, and particularly the new veteran, to stay informed, to think objectively, and to participate conscientiously in worth-while activities designed to promote the furtherance of democracy—particularly democracy in the local community, for it is here that this quality among men should find its first

and possibly its fullest expression. As social workers, you are undoubtedly aware of the real menaces to democracy—the apathy, the inertia, the lack of offensive spirit of many of our citizens.

As social workers, too, interested in an objective approach to social problems, you are undoubtedly aware of the red mist of hysteria that is sweeping our land, the red mist that is afflicting the minds of millions of normally sane people throughout the nation. Some say that this hysteria is part of the reaction that follows every war, the aftermath of hate psychology essential to achieving wartime objectives. Some think that it is deliberately manufactured to prepare us for a conflict with Russia. Others believe that it is part of a plan to keep the American people from thinking objectively about their domestic problems. It is rather interesting, for example, that the integrity of some of our finest educators in California is maligned at about the time people are considering paying teachers a living wage.

Let there be no misunderstanding with respect to our position. The men who sailed and flew to all parts of the globe decisively to defeat totalitarianism abroad are not going to condone any system which jeopardizes our American freedoms, which threatens to fetter our democratic institutions. They realize, however, that it is fruitless at best and dangerous at worst to attempt to cleanse one's skirts and become politically respectable by depriving others of civil liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Unfortunately, there seems to be a very high premium upon this type of respectability in these "times that try men's souls."

World War II veterans feel they already have won *their* respectability the hard way. I shan't bore you by referring

ag-
Fu-
rig-
the-
hea-
are-
opp-
Rig-
abo-
par-
Na-
pas-
the-
par-
A-
our-
abh-
Am-
prop-
by-
it-
is in-
stra-
tion-
may-
com-
I-
Cor-
bat-
pha-
stre-
her-
obje-
A-
two-
vete-
resp-
first-
men-
pora-
vete-
ner-
learn-
who-
to in-
age.

again to the stench of dead human flesh. Furthermore, I don't really have that right, because I spent most of my time in the chair-borne division flying a wing-heavy desk. But we feel that when you are talking about freedom from political oppression, guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, you aren't talking exclusively about the Republican or Democratic parties.

That is why last month the A.V.C.'s National Planning Committee met and passed a resolution on the outlawing of the Communist party, which reads in part:

As veterans of a great war fought to preserve our nation and its democratic way of life, we abhor the objectives and the tactics of the American Communist Party. We likewise abhor proposals designed to preserve our democracy by muzzling groups which seek to destroy it. . . . The only way to combat Communism is in the open, where its defects can be demonstrated and democracy's values proved in action. We stand with Thomas Jefferson: "Error may be tolerated so long as reason is left free to combat it."

In effect, A.V.C.'s National Planning Committee was saying: "You can't combat Communism by shifting your emphasis to fighter planes. Democracy's strength lies in the offensive—in tackling her domestic and foreign problems in an objective and forthright manner."

At this point, I should like to suggest two important contributions that the veteran can make as he assumes his social responsibilities in our democracy. The first contribution is courage. You will remember the words of the artillery corporal in Italy when he wrote: The new veteran "shall want to be an eager partner in the reconstruction, who has learned much, who can give much and who is afraid of nothing." I do not mean to imply that the nonveteran lacks courage. I do contend that the new veteran

has courage in abundance. He engaged the enemy in major battles all over the globe—from Pearl Harbor to Tokyo—from North Africa to northern Italy—from Normandy to Berlin. He was ready and anxious to fight for our democratic ideals. He did not break and run in the face of adversity. He brings to our national life a courage and determination which may well be one of democracy's greatest sources of strength. It is not likely the corporal will soon forget the bitter mountains of Italy.

Equally as important is the contribution that a veteran's organization can make as an integrating factor in community life. Throughout the nation there are communities which are tending to pull apart internally because of misunderstanding, conflict, and their resulting tensions. One wonders how we can ever learn to live peacefully together on a world scale when we find it so difficult to live with one another in communities like San Francisco or Detroit or Waukegan. The men of the armed forces went away to war from the field of agriculture and labor, from business and the professions, from schools and colleges. They fought together in a great common enterprise. As they became veterans, they returned to the field of agriculture and labor, to business and the professions, to schools and colleges. It is through their veterans' organizations that they can continue to work together in the struggle to win the peace. Under proper leadership, as they make their contribution to democracy's offensive, they will carry through their program in a manner to promote the integration of the community—to avoid the social splintering so inimical to progress.

No discussion of the social responsibility of the veteran would be complete without some reference to the interna-

tional scene. In fact, the invitation I received to speak here asked specifically: "What attention are the veterans' organizations to give to international relationships as they affect the possibilities of peace?" I think it is obvious from what I have already said that the new veteran is very much concerned with international affairs. To many veterans the waterways and airways of the world were more familiar than the Sierra Nevadas. To many, a hop to Karachi, India, was routine. To all of them there is an understanding that amicable relationships among nations are fundamental to world peace and the furtherance of democracy at home. They have the highest regard for the statesmanship, the greatness of our present Secretary of State, General George Marshall. Yet there is real concern over the proposal of *military* aid to Greece and Turkey. An undercurrent exists which, if expressed, might say: "Well, boys, here we go again." There is a realization among them that only by strengthening the authority and police power of the United Nations can international security be assured—that only then will small nations cease to be pawns in any power struggle between large nations.

Even on an international scale our concept of democracy applies. We are interested in a high quality of associated living among nations. We also support active participation among nations in areas of common concern. World peace obviously is the concern of all nations. The new veteran is willing to give up some of our sovereignty to strengthen an organization which is the only hope of promoting good neighborliness through-

out the world. Other nations, of course, must do likewise. It is only through this type of approach that democracy can assume its offensive on a world scale.

I dislike closing with so much left unsaid. In the aftermath of every war there has been a struggle between the harpies and the heroes. Too frequently the harpies have had their way. You'll remember the words of Lincoln near the close of the bloody fratricidal conflict of American history, when he said in part: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations." For several decades after the Civil War, instead of *one* nation the harpies kept us divided into a nation half "rebel" and half "damned Yankee."

On a larger scale there is a similarity in many of our present problems. Today the world is a community of neighbors, and every nation lives on its neighbors' threshold. It is imperative that the harpies must not have their way. We must build, as Wendell Willkie expressed it, "a living, vibrant, fearless democracy—economic, social, and political. All we need to do is to stand up and perform according to our professed ideals."

This is the position of A.V.C. on the social responsibility of the veteran in a democracy. This, we believe, should be the attitude of all veterans as they dedicate themselves to the arduous task of making democracy work.

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
CALIFORNIA

na
not
tion
also
age
eig
thr
selv
me
son
by
and
sion
I
give
the
tion
cial
ing
fare
I
its r
and
U.N
with
its
and
hav
inte
S. H
natio
Revie
Milli
Actio
1944
tion
the U
for S
(Sept

RELIEF SUPPLIES AND WELFARE DISTRIBUTION U.N.R.R.A. IN RETROSPECT

W. HARDY WICKWAR

THE supersession of war by more constructive patterns of behavior implies the building of new institutions. International functional agencies must be erected, not only for the purpose of collecting information and correlating national policies, but also for operating jobs. These operating agencies have to overcome national sovereignty and carry their operations right through into service to the people themselves instead of dealing only with governments. And the national loyalty of the personnel of these agencies must be transcended by a yet greater loyalty to their profession and to the human beings whom that profession exists to serve.

It is considerations such as these that give high significance to the operations of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (1943-47) and especially to the part played within this operating agency by service units such as the Welfare Division.¹

In its antecedents, its legal competence, its relations with other administrative units, and its own organizational structure, the U.N.R.R.A. Welfare Division was faced with shortcomings and defects which made its achievements all the more remarkable and which are highly instructive to all who have at heart the further development of international welfare action.

¹ For the beginnings of U.N.R.R.A. see Donald S. Howard, "U.N.R.R.A.: A New Venture in International Relief and Welfare Services," *Social Service Review*, XVIII (March, 1944), 1-11; and Savilla Millis Simons, "U.N.R.R.A. on the Threshold of Action," *Social Service Review*, XVIII (December, 1944), 433-43. For certain aspects of its early operation see Martha Branscombe, "The Children of the United Nations—U.N.R.R.A.'s Responsibility for Social Welfare," *Social Service Review*, XIX (September, 1945), 310-23.

ANTECEDENTS

An international relief agency may have to draw a line between the two jobs of getting relief supplies into a country and getting them equitably distributed after they have arrived there. Its principal concern may be with the former task; but it has been unable to disinterest itself from what happens to these supplies after their arrival because the people of contributing countries have wished to have some assurance that the supplies they have donated reach the persons in need for whom they are intended.

Relief between countries thus becomes like the grant-in-aid within a country; it needs to be followed up by field service in order to insure harmony between the grantor's intentions and the grantee's practices. Out of this has arisen the administrative necessity of correlating the "relief supply operation" from country to country with the "welfare distribution service" within a country.

Some important precedents for the following-up of relief supplies into consuming countries were set up by American government-subsidized foreign relief agencies during the Hoover decade (1914-23). Many of these precedents were first evolved during World War I, when it was necessary to control distribution and consumption in such a way as to satisfy the belligerents that neither side was being helped to win the war by any breach of basic agreements. They became still more firmly established as routine practice in the disputed territory on Poland's eastern border, where it was desired to help all linguistic and religious groups. They were applied even in the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republics, where the donors wished for

some assurance that the politically passive majority should share equitably along with the politically active minority.

Of these precedents the most basic was the policy of selecting relief recipients not on any discretionary basis or by any attempt at individual determination of need but by making relief supplies freely available to all persons who fell within certain clearly marked categories, such as mothers and children.

At the same time, several other administrative devices were used for insuring a reasonable degree of compliance with this basic policy. One of these was free movement by field inspectors or observers employed by the foreign relief-supply agency. Another was the organization of local supervisory or operating committees, on which a wide variety of recipient groups could be represented—an adaption overseas of the principle of intergroup community organization that was taking root in the United States about that time.

This policy and these administrative devices could be applied only if a recipient country so exercised its sovereign power as to agree to their application. Every receiving country had the good sense to recognize that its sovereign power was more effectively curtailed by hunger and starvation than by the admission of foreign observers and community organizers to assure compliance with an agreed policy. The policy and the techniques for effecting it were therefore safeguarded in formal written agreements between the recipient governments and the foreign relief agency.

The administrative lesson that could have been taught by this experience was overlooked by a general reaction against many details of the Hoover operation. Not only was the method of financing relief-supply procurement open to criticism,² but the method of distribution that had then been used also now seemed outmoded. This was, first, because the subsequent development of health and educational services for

children had made it possible to think of child-feeding not as a thing by itself but as a service that could and should be closely linked with these more permanent community functions so that it should be used for helping restore people's standards of medical care and school attendance as well as for keeping them alive and well. In other words, it was now stressed that child-feeding should have a social as well as a nutritional value. The children's soup lines of the Hoover decade were therefore looked back upon as demoralizing, degrading, and anti-social. Second, the interwar years had seen a great assumption of responsibility for the people's welfare by the governments of the nation-states of all Europe, so that there was now an alternative to reliance upon administration by voluntary committees representing religious groups. Third, during the interwar years there had occurred a great expansion of public income-security payments of which social insurance benefits and family allowances were the most important; this meant that attention would now have to be given to the restoration of these income-security systems, as well as to direct distribution of relief supplies to particular categories of war victims. Direct distribution would retain its former value only in so far as price inflation or administrative collapse made income-security worthless, or as the distribution system broke down, or as inadequate supplies of relief goods made basic rations so inadequate that supplementation was needed in order to insure priorities to particularly vulnerable categories of consumers.

Further uncertainty about the validity of the Hoover precedents came from the fact that the American contribution to international relief had not been the only one, although it had been by far the biggest. The post-World War I contribution of the United Kingdom had been made through voluntary agencies—half of whose relief expenditure had been borne by the Foreign Office—which had engaged in direct operations as well as in the stimulation and supervision of local community effort. United

² See *Relief Deliveries and Relief Loans, 1919-1923* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1943).

States relief for the people of two of the Soviet Socialist Republics during the great famine of 1921-22 had also been paralleled, though on a smaller scale, by the work of an international commission headed by Fridtjof Nansen, which, however, turned its relief supplies over to the recipient government for it to administer their distribution.

During World War II this problem of providing for the distribution of relief supplies in recipient countries was approached in two different ways by the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States. The Relief Department of the Board of Trade of the United Kingdom (transferred later to the Foreign Office) acted on the supply side as an administrative secretariat to the Inter-Allied Post-war Requirements Bureau of the Governments-in-Exile at London; but, for internal distribution, it looked to a revival of voluntary-agency service, and, with this in view, it called into existence a Council of British Societies for Relief Abroad (C.B.S.R.A.). Meanwhile the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (O.F.R.R.O.), set up within the United States Department of State, envisaged relief distribution services as a responsibility of the contributing and recipient governments rather than of voluntary agencies, without however reaching any clear decision on the respective role of contributor and recipient.

POLICY RESOLUTIONS

The relationship between relief supply and welfare distribution, which was already confused by a superabundance of conflicting precedents and antecedents, was certainly not clarified by the *Agreement for U.N.R.R.A.* of November, 1943, or by subsequent policy resolutions of the U.N.R.R.A. Council.

The Council's "distribution resolution" (No. 7, Atlantic City, November, 1943) did not introduce much clarity when it laid down seven principles:

1. Nondiscrimination on account of race, creed, or political belief;
2. General responsibility of the government

exercising administrative authority in the area;

3. All classes, irrespective of purchasing power, to receive equitable shares of essential commodities;
4. Rationing, price controls, and suppression of black markets;
5. Limitation of profit margins;
6. Use of normal agencies of distribution;
7. The Director General to be kept fully informed concerning distribution of relief supplies within recipient areas.

It was still far from certain whether these seven golden rules of distribution were intended as moral obligations assumed by signatory governments or whether they were pointers to guide distribution-observers in the field. If the latter, then it would have been hard to think of any field observers better qualified than social welfare administrators to judge of the adequacy of local distribution machinery for achieving nondiscrimination and equitable distribution regardless of purchasing power.

It was, however, another and different resolution (No. 9) that treated of social welfare. This resolution came from a special subcommittee on "relief services including relations with voluntary relief agencies," whose creation seems to have been decided in the course of the council meeting, without previous agreement, and as the result of pressure from particular delegations. This provided, above all, "that within the framework of its total program and with closest collaboration between the Health, Welfare, and other appropriate organization units, the Administration should make special provision for welfare services for victims of war—in particular for children, expectant and nursing mothers, the aged and the disabled." This was the nearest the Council ever came to defining U.N.R.R.A. welfare action, and even then it did not do so in terms of the distribution of relief supplies. The administration was instructed "to provide as promptly as possible the necessary welfare services to be available when countries are liberated or occupied by the United Nations." This implied, although it did not

say so, that welfare personnel would have to be recruited and welfare supplies procured in advance and without the benefit of knowing to what extent or where they would be needed. With respect to each country an agreement was envisaged by which the U.N.R.R.A. welfare staff would be either direct operators or nothing. Here was no hint of the fruitful middle course of "indirect operation" that came later to be followed in Greece and Italy, by which U.N.R.R.A. welfare workers developed into advisers to recipient governments and to their local subdivisions.

In order that recipients might be encouraged by relief from abroad to help their neighbors, rather than be discouraged from working, a paragraph was added to the welfare resolution stressing the importance of production for use; and some of the words used in this paragraph were soon to be torn out of their context and used by the first director-general as a motto for the whole work of U.N.R.R.A. This paragraph said that "welfare services should be designed to help people to help themselves. Wherever possible, constructive work opportunities and measures for self-help should be provided to permit those receiving relief to produce at least some of their own basic requirements." It is noteworthy that this did not mean work relief or relief work except in so far as basic necessities would be produced for consumption by the relief recipients. This was in harmony with the general tenor of the U.N.R.R.A. resolutions, according to which the only sector of the economy whose rehabilitation was envisaged was that which produced essential consumer goods. The way was thus opened for regarding the distribution and utilization of the simpler kinds of agricultural and industrial rehabilitation supplies, especially in war-devastated rural communities, as being to some extent a welfare function.

Yet another resolution (No. 10) dealt with the repatriation and return of displaced persons. It is possible, however, that the care of those who were not immediately repatriable was envisaged as a direct welfare

operation; and this was perhaps one reason why the reference to welfare in the previous resolution was in terms of services rather than of distribution.

The subsequent emergence of welfare responsibility for distribution must therefore be regarded as something that was not fully and clearly foreseen by those who drafted either the basic *Agreement for U.N.R.R.A.* or the subsequent resolutions of the Council. The most that these offered was a few pegs on which to hang—or fail to hang—a necessary aspect of international relief administration.

ADMINISTRATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

One of the most notable developments of the past decade had been experimentation with a new type of public social service aimed at making certain basic supplies available to the great mass of people. Public provision of housing or of housing materials, the work of the British Ministry of Supply in the mass procurement of basic necessities, and the United States plans for disposing of surplus agricultural commodities are all examples of this widespread recent aspect of governmental enterprise in a mixed economy in times of emergency. It was to this category that U.N.R.R.A. belonged. It was primarily a supply agency.

It had, however, a number of other lines of operational activity, including its welfare services. Two questions were therefore of great importance. These were, first, what should be the relations between these non-supply services (including welfare) and supply; and, second, what should be the relationship of the non-supply services among themselves?

Welfare and supply.—On the supply side the most important thing was to define the relationship between a service unit, such as the Welfare Division, and the all-powerful Bureau of Supply.

Since they were regarded as technical specialists, the Welfare staff might have been expected at least to assess the need for those articles of equipment without which emergency relief could not well be carried out.

Equipment for congregate feeding, for nurseries, for orphanages, and for other social agencies, and household equipment, in order that families might set up housekeeping again, were all needed in enormous quantities. What was more, the need was greatest immediately after liberation. If such supplies were to be beneficial, they would have to arrive at once. If they were delayed until local production revived or army surpluses were disposed of, their period of maximum usefulness would be past. In other words, a big effort should have been made to assess this need, to stock-pile these types of miscellaneous consumer goods, and to rush them to centers of distress as soon after liberation as possible. None of this was done. Nor were prosthetic supplies made available on behalf of physically disabled persons.

Similar considerations applied to the procurement of certain supplies for those displaced persons who were not immediately repatriable. In addition to those basic essentials that were to keep them alive, and which it was the Army's responsibility to provide, there were many other articles that were essential to the successful management of a camp. Footballs were as necessary as food. These supplies became known as amenity supplies; but their procurement was slow and late.

For obtaining durable welfare equipment and expendible amenity supplies, some special organizational machinery was needed, with the Welfare Division interpreting the human needs and the Supply Bureau exploring procurability. Both sides of this equation were lacking. The initial stress in the Welfare Division was on method rather than on equipment. It did not insist on getting the tools that it needed for doing its job. It did not talk a language that the rest of U.N.R.R.A. understood. Meanwhile the Bureau of Supply built up a number of "commodity divisions" for such commodity groups as food, textiles, industrial equipment, agricultural equipment, and health supplies; but none of these divisions was empowered or competent to obtain the

"miscellaneous consumer goods" or the housing supplies needed for effective welfare action.

Welfare and distribution.—An effective relationship between a service unit—such as the Welfare Division—and a supply unit implies not only the full participation of the former in the planning of the latter's programs but also the participation of the former in the distribution of relief supplies to the ultimate consumer; for it can never be too much stressed that the end use of these supplies has all the time to be borne in mind and that this concern with end use is a proper and appropriate concern of a welfare unit.

The distribution of supplies within a country—like the programming of welfare supplies—was also not the continuing concern of any unit within U.N.R.R.A. The Welfare Division and Standing Technical Committee on Welfare made preliminary studies both of cash assistance and of assistance in kind to those sections of the population that were unable to pay for their share of relief goods. The Bureau of Supply claimed a wider responsibility, which it did not implement for more than a few months. And the director-general's staff offices—Far East, General Counsel, and Public Information—were all obliged by circumstances to give attention to problems of distribution from time to time. In short, there was no unit in U.N.R.R.A. in which responsibility was clearly concentrated for enunciating administration policy with regard to internal distribution of U.N.R.R.A. supplies or for giving guidance to U.N.R.R.A. distribution observers in the field.

Welfare and other services.—Relations between the Welfare Division and other non-supply units were equally ill-planned.

It was decided at the beginning of 1944 to set up three parallel and equally important nonsupply divisions: Health, Welfare, and Displaced Persons. It was decided one year later to group these three together in a bureau that was known as the Bureau of Services at headquarters and a Bureau of Relief Operations at some other levels.

Neither arrangement was very satisfactory. Within the framework of the bureau various new arrangements were tried in different places from time to time. Even when all allowance is made for personal elements, the instability of the organizational framework for the nonsupply services raises a number of questions of considerable importance.

One of these questions concerns the advisability of organizing parallel divisions partly on a functional (e.g., health and welfare) and partly on a categorical (e.g., displaced persons) basis. This may or may not have been the original intention; but it is what happened.

The Displaced Persons Division, envisaged initially as a repatriation division, evolved under an aggressive director into a division that was originally far more concerned with the care of the million persons who were not immediately repatriable than with repatriation. To help the Displaced Persons Division discharge this unforeseen operating function, the Welfare Division was required to provide very large numbers of welfare officers. In fact, the nearly seven hundred welfare officers engaged in direct service to displaced persons were nearly four times as numerous as all the U.N.R.R.A. welfare officers engaged in country mission programs. At one point in its development the Welfare Division thus acted largely as a personnel-recruiting agency for an unforeseen displaced persons operation.

If the distinction between the Welfare Division and the Displaced Persons Division was not wholly rational—except in so far as the juridical and diplomatic aspects of repatriation called for other skills than those of the social welfare worker—the distinction that existed temporarily in 1944–45 between three divisions in the same field—Welfare, Displaced Persons, and Camps—was even more open to criticism. It meant, for example, that in the Middle East in 1944 there were recruited both “camp activities officers” and “welfare officers,” the former for chores and the latter for frills, as one of the former described the difference between them. This division of responsibility was perhaps one of the major reasons for the

delay in requisitioning hand tools, work materials, heating-and-lighting equipment, and warm winter clothing for the forty thousand Dodecanesian and Greek refugees and Yugoslav *evacués* encamped in the Middle East in 1944–45.

Even between the Welfare Division and the Health Division there was considerable overlapping. The environmental sanitation aspects of preventive medicine are perhaps a distinct specialty; but many other aspects of health work, such as nutrition, child-feeding, infant care, and the treatment and follow-up of tuberculosis, cannot be divorced from their social milieu. In such fields as these—and in the postwar emergency these were all-important—the co-operation of the medical scientist with the community-organizer and the case worker was indispensable. This was of course no new problem; but no notable progress toward solving it was made during the U.N.R.R.A. experience.

No thought seems to have been given to the place of education in relief services. In caring for displaced persons, however, it was found that schools were indispensable, even if only for keeping children out of mischief and bringing them within reach of health services and supplemental feeding. In country missions, also, the school needed to be restored to its place as an essential social institution, as part of the general process of restoring the orderly workings of society and, at the very least, as a way of getting the children off the streets. Although it was unforeseen and unauthorized, welfare officers could not avoid taking a great interest in the restoration of education, including the procurement of educational supplies—especially where these would aid in economic rehabilitation or in the training of relief workers—both in the displaced persons operation and in country missions. Not least, the Welfare Division took the lead in having U.N.R.R.A. grant “fellowships” for enabling social welfare officials and other technical experts from countries receiving relief supplies to observe and familiarize themselves with recent developments in non-devastated countries so as to increase the

chances of U.N.R.R.A. health and welfare services' being carried on after U.N.R.R.A.'s demise.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

Personnel.—At its height, Class I (international) Welfare Division staff on U.N.R.R.A. budget lines included about one dozen persons in professional and administrative grades at the Washington headquarters, as many again in the European Regional Office (E.R.O.) at London, fifty in European country missions, over six hundred in displaced persons operations in Germany and seventy in Austria, over a hundred in China—or a total of over eight hundred persons. The ratio of Class I (international) Welfare Division professional staff to U.N.R.R.A. Class I personnel as a whole varied sharply according to the level: at headquarters and at E.R.O. the Welfare ratio was only 1 per cent, whereas in the field it sometimes rose as high as 12 per cent. To those must be added locally engaged (Class II) and seconded voluntary agency (Class III) personnel.

In the recruitment of this personnel those professional standards were applied that were appropriate in their country of recruitment: in North America graduate study in a professional school was expected, and in France a state diploma was looked for, whereas in most British countries training with an agency was more usual. In all countries, however, the crucial test was experience in meeting emergencies—the emergency of the depression in North America, the resistance in France, or the blitz in Britain—rather than a lifetime of social case work, income-security administration, or other well-established programs. This stress on adaptability was fortunate in view of failure to foresee the difference between direct service to displaced persons and indirect operation of relief distribution on a country mission.

Turnover was high. Many men and women had only limited leave from a civil service or voluntary agency. Others who had burned their boats to go abroad felt that they were in temporary work and did not

want to be left behind in the servicemen's rush home. Some were demoralized and frustrated by unexplained delays, unexpected difficulties, and lack of understanding on the part of nonwelfare-minded chiefs. In the field, turnover was kept in check by the rule under which the administration was not bound to pay transportation home for persons who resigned after less than a year's service. At headquarters and at E.R.O. the turnover was a menace to orderly planning and administrative continuity; the director's time was divided between the two offices; and in less than two years there were five deputy directors at Washington and four regional directors at E.R.O.

Top management.—This turnover at headquarters and E.R.O. raised problems of the relative role of director, deputy director, and regional director, which otherwise need not have been raised. It may be presumed that the director was appointed on political and the deputy and regional directors on professional grounds and that each brought to the common task the qualities that might be expected in view of their different backgrounds. In this dualism—which is always likely to arise in an international agency—there was nothing inherently inimical to effective administration; but in the British system the duality of "political" and "permanent" head depends for effectiveness on the fact that the permanent head is not only professional but is also permanent in fact as well as name. In the U.N.R.R.A. Welfare Division the relationship that arose was in some ways the reverse of what happens in Britain or Canada, for here it was the political head who was permanent and the professional people who were transitory. This lack of a permanent professional associate threw onto the director a responsibility which she had not been chosen to bear. The qualities that she brought to her task were largely wasted because they were not reinforced with that experience of social welfare administration without which it was difficult to sense the role of welfare services in a supply operation and therefore impossible to translate good intentions into practicable programs.

Headquarters—field relations.—In an operation such as U.N.R.R.A.'s, extreme decentralization of operating responsibility was inevitable. The chief welfare officer on a country mission was administratively responsible to his chief of mission, and not to the Welfare Division at E.R.O. or headquarters. In such a setup, the most that the Welfare Division at E.R.O. or headquarters could appropriately do was to furnish professional support and guidance. It could advise but not supervise. One of the most effective ways to do this would have been to develop a welfare field inspection service; this would have been invaluable both as a channel for disseminating experience, as a means of enabling the top echelons to take appropriate action whenever programs were proving inadequate to a situation or when supply or personnel was proving inadequate to a program, and as a method of bringing a professional viewpoint within the focus of a chief of mission's consciousness.

In a division with a director, a deputy director, and a regional director it would not have been impossible to have one or other of these persons on almost constant field-inspection duty, and nothing would have done more to bridge the chasm that separated headquarters and E.R.O. from the field. To be effective, such a technical field inspection would have had to be by top officials exercising continuing responsibility; and lack of permanent officials prevented the development of any such system during the formative years when it could have been useful.

The reporting system, which was notoriously slow in being worked out, made no provision whatever in the displaced persons operation for the sending of welfare reports from the field to the headquarters or regional offices. In country missions the forwarding of such welfare divisional reports was left to the discretion of the chief of mission, and, if he had less than half-a-dozen spare copies, the sending on of one of them to headquarters was dependent entirely on E.R.O.'s thinking of doing so.

For this unimaginative failure to open proper and normal channels of communica-

tion, much of the blame must be placed on the comparative weakness and lack of status of the Welfare Division; and this in turn goes back to its failure to "sell" Welfare in supply terms to the "supply boys" or to the administrative organization experts.

At the same time, lack of professional contact between the center and the circumference helped keep headquarters in the dark as to the extent to which welfare was becoming equated with distribution in countries in which the Welfare Division was allowed to find its own level.

In the absence of appropriate channels, subterfuges and by-passes had eventually to be devised. A periodic "bulletin" mailed out direct from headquarters kept country welfare staffs posted on one another's programs and on headquarters' policy, Inquiry by cable and by letter, to seek "justification" of supply requests or to request information needed for North American public relations, elicited fuller and more up-to-date information than was obtainable through regular channels. Private correspondence between professional colleagues at headquarters and in the field was resorted to. And it was occasionally possible to order a field officer home to report.

National and professional cohesion.—Organizationally, the Welfare Division thus had two very grave obstacles to overcome— inadequate continuity at the top level and inadequate communication between the top level and the operating level. Its achievement in functioning at all, and still more in adapting itself to the unforeseen needs of a common undertaking, was all the more remarkable and was probably due to the fact that most welfare people—and especially most North American welfare people—had a common professional outlook. Group loyalty was more noticeable than good administrative organization. One wit even went so far as to say that what held the operating personnel together in spite of their differences of nationality was a common gripe against the organization. To this, one might add that what enabled the top level to achieve some continuity and to maintain some un-

dersta
predo
nel.

Th
est at
was d
sidera
the e
opera
speak
numb
cially
ual di
did n
domin
were—
Engli
Ameri

Th
in an
ate as
agenc
by Pr
purch
to be
ards
When
comm
a cor
will.
Amer
admin
Pride
No ef
fant
Unio
migr
helpe
suspi
been
Divis
some
have

He
The y
ing an
inevit
studi

understanding with the operating level was the predominance of American-trained personnel.

This American preponderance was greatest at the top level. In country missions it was diluted, in some countries, with a considerable admixture of Britons; and during the earlier phase of the displaced persons operation in central Europe the English-speaking welfare workers were equaled in numbers by Continental Europeans, especially from France and Belgium. This gradual dilution as one descended the hierarchy did not in any way alter the fact that the dominant group—the ruling class, as it were—in the Welfare Division was not only English-speaking but definitely North American.

This preponderance of one national group in an international organ was as inappropriate as would be the domination of a British agency by Etonians or of an American one by Princeton alumni. Such unity as was thus purchased cheap turned out in the long run to be dearly bought. United States standards were unconsciously set up as a norm. When the concept was that of intergroup community organization, the result could be a constructive mobilization of local good will. When the concept was that of the American "means test" a diplomatic and administrative fiasco was hardly avoidable. Pride and prejudice were far from absent. No effort was made to enlist leaders in infant welfare from France or the Soviet Union, or in housing management or worker migration from Britain. National unbalance helped to expose the Welfare Division to suspicion on political grounds and may have been one of the factors that prevented the Division from being allowed to function in some of the Slavic countries where it could have done most useful work.

WELFARE ACTION IN EUROPE³

Headquarters and regional planning.—The year 1944 was devoted to policy-framing and program-planning. Much of this was inevitably done in the void. A series of studies was undertaken of the welfare sys-

tems of countries to which there seemed to be some chance of U.N.R.R.A.'s being called upon to send supplies; this meant real pioneering in the comparative study of national systems of welfare administration; much of the work was duplicated at headquarters and E.R.O.; but practically no use was made of this material in orienting students at the training centers; and, as events turned out, the majority of the countries studied did not request the services of the Welfare Division. This was an aspect of U.N.R.R.A.'s preparatory work which the Welfare Division would not have felt compelled to undertake if the world's academic institutions had not been guilty of totally neglecting this important aspect of contemporary social science. Simultaneously, a series of studies was made of various emergency relief techniques, although it was not clear whether these were intended for country mission consultants or for displaced persons operators; and it was significant that they omitted all consideration of the surveying, requisitioning, allocating, and distributing of supplies.⁴ A list was drawn up, along similar lines, of kinds of activity in which the Welfare Division might be expected to engage; in its thinking, this, too, dated from before the assumption of welfare functions by the Displaced Persons Division, and it, too, failed to come to grips with the supply function. In their effort to cover the waterfront, these documents showed but little more perception than had been shown at Atlantic City of the likely functions of a welfare division or the ways in which it would gear in with the operations of U.N.R.R.A. as a whole. Finally, a welfare guide for displaced-persons assembly centers was drawn up conjointly with the military

³ The Far East is not here considered, partly because the initial stage of U.N.R.R.A. relief was discussed in Donald S. Howard, "Emergency Relief Needs and Measures in China," *Social Service Review*, XX (September, 1946), 300-11, and partly because information on the final phase is not yet fully available.

⁴ *Emergency Welfare Services* (Washington, 1944), reviewed in *Social Service Review*, XIX (June, 1945), 294.

in northwestern Europe (Staff Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force); the standards it laid down were unexceptionable; but owing largely to the diffusion of responsibility between the Welfare and the Displaced Persons divisions, very little seems to have been done to insure their application. During this phase, the Division was literarily prolific; but there was singularly little correlation between its study projects and the administrative jobs that were shaping up ahead. In fact, the piece of planning that pointed in the most useful direction was probably the preparation of some "shopping lists" to help in the requisitioning of supplies for child welfare; yet even in this case no steps were taken to place educational orders, procure demonstration units, and recruit demonstration teams.

Mediterranean countries.—The first practical problems to confront the Welfare Division in 1944 were in the Near and the Middle East. Here the Combined Chiefs of Staff seem to have envisioned the liberation of Balkan countries as a task for the British armies. During an initial "military period" of some six months, civilian relief agencies such as U.N.R.R.A. would be allowed to act only in agreement with the military. During this period, relief supplies, to prevent disease and unrest, would be a military responsibility, while actual welfare operations, to get those supplies to people in distress and to care for refugees, would be turned over to civilian units donated by voluntary agencies and organized as self-contained teams under the command of team leaders.

Since British and Levantine voluntary agencies were unable to supply all the teams desired by the military, American voluntary agencies were invited to participate; and this participation was agreed to by United States authorities only on condition that the relief operations to which it applied should be under international—i.e., U.N.R.R.A.—control. The implications of this transfer were not fully thought through, and no adequate programs were planned for implementing the policy thus thrust upon U.N.R.R.A.

The camps for Dodecanesian refugees in

Palestine and for Greeks and Yugoslavs in Egypt were used as a training ground by British and other teams destined to move into Balkan countries; but not until these teams were withdrawn were any steps taken to obtain professional welfare officers for service to the refugees in camps.

In readiness for the expected British liberation of Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia, U.N.R.R.A. inherited a lot of British voluntary agency teams for direct operational work during the military phase. Its chief interest, however, was in preparing for indirect operations in agreement with whatever government might succeed to administrative control during the early postmilitary phase; and for this later job it relied not upon mixed teams of volunteers but upon professionally trained welfare workers on U.N.R.R.A. budget lines or seconded to U.N.R.R.A. by American voluntary agencies.

The military phase—i.e., phase of military responsibility for relief supplies—was complicated by the fact that, instead of setting up an Allied military government as in former enemy countries, the Allied military hoped to work through provisional national governments. The exact status both of the operational relief teams that U.N.R.R.A. inherited and of the advisory welfare staff that it was recruiting would thus depend as much on the provisional national government as on the Allied military. Here it was that a difference developed between Greece, on the one hand, and Albania and Yugoslavia, on the other.

Only in Greece did liberation go approximately according to plan. This, then, was the only one among the Balkan countries to which the U.N.R.R.A. Welfare Division obtained right of entry for its own staff and for its voluntary agencies.

It abundantly justified itself by inspiring a thorough administrative reorganization of Greek welfare services as a necessary prelude to the rehabilitation of rural industry and the equitable distribution of relief supplies regardless of purchasing power.⁵

⁵ Ruth M. Pauley, "Public Welfare Services in Greece," *Social Service Review*, XX (December, 1946), 523-36.

The liberation of Albania and Yugoslavia, on the other hand, was effected not by the British military but by those countries' own partisan forces, helped in Yugoslavia by the Soviet armies. Their governments did not owe their existence to the British military, and, although willing to accept a "military period" in the sense of accepting some relief supplies from the Western powers, they displayed no desire whatever to have either voluntary agency relief operators or U.N.R.R.A. welfare consultants during either this or any later phase.

In Italy—the only former enemy country to which it granted aid—the U.N.R.R.A. Council decided to supplement the relief supplies sent in by the Western military with a limited program, in which, originally, food and welfare services for mothers and children were the most important items; and to this the Italian government agreed. Thus in Italy as in Greece, although on a smaller scale, it was taken as axiomatic that Supplies and Welfare should go hand in hand. Welfare action in Italy consisted, in fact, of devising ways for getting relief supplies to children.⁶

Three things then would seem to have decided whether Welfare should or should not accompany Supplies. One was the play of international politics. Another was the inability of the Welfare Division, when negotiations were under way, to go armed with a practical demonstration of its own usefulness. A third was the willingness of the Supplies side of the administration to go in unaccompanied by Welfare. In those two countries, however, in which the Welfare Division went in along with the relief supplies it materially reinforced the administrative machinery for securing equitable distribution.

Northwest European countries.—In the "European theater of operations," the situation developed quite differently. For direct emergency relief operations on behalf of liberated people in that area, the Combined

Chiefs of Staff chose to rely not on U.N.R.R.A. or on U.N.R.R.A.-regulated voluntary agencies but instead to deal directly with the national Red Cross societies of the United States and the United Kingdom. Only for help in the care and repatriation of displaced persons did the military agree that army commanders might, if they wished, call upon U.N.R.R.A.

At the close of the brief military period of responsibility for emergency relief, the national governments of these paying countries assumed full responsibility for purchasing the supplies they needed, and, so far from requesting welfare services from U.N.R.R.A., they were able to contribute personnel for welfare services on behalf of their own and other displaced persons in Germany. U.N.R.R.A. liaison missions in these countries found comparatively little to do; and, after they had finished their work as recruiting officers, the welfare liaison officers to Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Norway were all withdrawn. The welfare services of all these northwestern European countries were more adequate to the emergency than any that U.N.R.R.A. could possibly have brought in.

Eastern European countries.—In the "nonpaying" countries of east-central Europe, the situation was different again. In Poland, Slovakia, and Yugoslavia the administrative system had been shot to pieces. Social insurance had been shattered. Voluntary welfare agencies had been impoverished and decimated. Social revolution completed the upheaval begun by war and treason. Common standards of humanity, thoughtfulness, and equity were among the obvious and least lamented victims of nazism. In all these countries there was abundant work for the Welfare Division to do. Moreover, without U.N.R.R.A. welfare officers attached to all levels of government there could be no adequate assurance that relief supplies would be equitably distributed in accordance with the desires of the country expressed in its basic agreement with U.N.R.R.A.

The governments of these war-stricken countries of eastern Europe needed to be

⁶ Felix M. Gentile, "U.N.R.R.A. Child-feeding in Italy," *Social Service Review*, XX (December, 1946), 502-22.

convinced of the ability of U.N.R.R.A. welfare services. A welfare division equipped only with its invisible skills and not with the visible tools of its trade was badly placed for carrying conviction. Above all, by the beginning of 1945, when agreements with the eastern European countries came up for discussion, supreme power within the U.N.R.R.A. administration, both at Washington and at London, had passed into the hands of supply men who did not understand the possible place of welfare in the total U.N.R.R.A. program.

Welfare workers as such were not wanted by Albania, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, or Yugoslavia; Czechoslovakia wanted only one or two; and those wanted by Poland could be counted on the fingers of one hand. In such countries as were willing to have any U.N.R.R.A. welfare personnel at all, the only kind of welfare worker that was welcome was therefore the topflight all-round administrator, with whom government experts could consult freely and without any obligation as they proceeded to reconstruct their nations' systems of social administration. U.N.R.R.A. welfare work in Czechoslovakia and Poland was thus characterized by quality rather than by quantity. The presence of a respected outside expert could not fail to strengthen the hands of those who labored to build a system of social aid on a basis of efficiency and equity. In Czechoslovakia differences in assistance standards between Czech and Slovak provinces would tend to become less sharp. In Poland the distribution of milk to school children could be made the starting-point for the resurrection of systematic social administration. Above all, the presence of a well-informed outsider would help to break down the feeling of isolation, restore the sense of professional collegiality, and enable fellow-workers in different countries to profit from one another's thoughts and deeds. So long as U.N.R.R.A. was at work, there was no "iron curtain"—or at least not in those countries to which U.N.R.R.A. welfare officers were admitted and in which they could deal freely with fellow-members of the same profession.

Lack, however, of Welfare staff in day-by-day contact with national officials at every level of government left the Administration without any skilled and unobtrusive method of observing and assisting internal distribution; and it was less able than it would otherwise have been to satisfy either itself or appropriating bodies such as the United States Congress that the basic Agreement was being fulfilled.

APPRECIATION AND CONTINUATION

Two factors have combined to assure the continuance of some of this work. One has been the influence of social welfare administrators in certain delegations both in the U.N.R.R.A. Council and in the United Nations Economic and Social Council. The other has been the recipient countries' appreciation of U.N.R.R.A. welfare services.

To this recognition there have thus far been three principal aspects:

The first has been the decision to solicit gifts for an International Children's Emergency Fund, so as to channel diminishing relief supplies in the direction of an especially vulnerable category of war victims.

The second is the assumption by the United Nations of administrative and financial responsibility for the welfare consultant and fellowship services, so as to facilitate the international exchange of professional experience and make the United Nations secretariat into a clearing-house for social welfare information.

The third is recognition that an International Refugee Organization would be ill able to determine which displaced persons should be repatriated and which have valid objections to repatriation, unless it is adequately staffed with experienced social case workers.

In these directions, then, the international social welfare services which pioneered within the framework of U.N.R.R.A. are outliving the organization through which they first came into being.

HAMILTON COLLEGE
CLINTON, NEW YORK

AMERICAN SOCIAL WELFARE HISTORY SELECT DOCUMENTS

THE WORK OF THOMAS H. GALLAUDET AND THE TEACHING OF THE DEAF

EDITH ABBOTT

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THOMAS HOPKINS GALLAUDET¹ (1787-1851) was a pioneer in the teaching of deaf children in this country. But unfortunately he pioneered in the wrong direction, and his work is an example of doing the right thing in the wrong way; for he established in his pioneer institution the wrong method of teaching the children who were then called "deaf and dumb," with the result that thousands of children in this country who might have been taught to speak were taught only the language of signs.

He was born in Philadelphia in 1787, the eldest in a family of twelve children. Later the family moved to Hartford, Connecticut, and he attended the Hartford Grammar School and Yale College. He began but did not continue the study of law in Hartford. He became a tutor at Yale and then went to Andover Theological Seminary and became a minister. He then returned to Hartford, where he became interested in a child who had become deaf as the result of illness and who by the time she was four years old was "practically dumb as well as deaf." Thomas Gallaudet became interested in teaching a few words to this child, Alice Cogswell, and

the father, who had been reluctant to send the child away to Edinburgh or London,² where she might be taught, thought that a school for deaf children should be established at home. A group of friends who met with

* There were several schools for the deaf in Great Britain and in Europe. In Britain the first such school had been founded by Thomas Braidwood (1715-1805), a Scottish schoolteacher who had been educated at Edinburgh University. In 1760 he opened his school for the deaf in Edinburgh and used a method of articulation and taught them to speak. In 1772, when Samuel Johnson visited Braidwood's school, he said in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*: "This school I visited, and found some of the scholars waiting for their master. . . . The improvement of Mr. Braidwood's pupils is wonderful. They not only speak, write and understand what is written, but . . . they know so well what is spoken, that it is an expression scarcely figurative to say they hear with the eye. . . . It was pleasing to see one of the most desperate of human calamities capable of so much help. Whatever enlarges hope will exalt courage." Braidwood later moved his school to Hackney near London, and schools were also maintained at Edinburgh, Birmingham, and in London (the London Asylum for the Support and Education of Indigent Deaf and Dumb Children, founded in 1792).

The work of Braidwood was known in this country long before the time of Gallaudet. Francis Green (1742-1809) of Boston, who had a deaf-mute son, had taken him, at the age of eight, to the Braidwood School in Edinburgh, where he remained for nearly six years. When he was placed in the school, he "could not articulate a syllable, nor had he any idea of the significance of a word." The father, who visited him more than once, was greatly pleased by his acquired ability to speak, and he became interested in having the advantage of education for the deaf made available to indigent people in England. He was also anxious to have a school for the deaf established in this country. See *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (new ser.), Vol. XIII, "A Philanthropist of the Last Century," by Alexander Graham Bell. Francis

¹ The following may be consulted for an account of Gallaudet's work: *Life of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet: Founder of Deaf-Mute Instruction in America*, by his son, Edward Miner Gallaudet (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1888); Henry Barnard, *Tribute to Gallaudet: A Discourse in Commemoration of the Life, Character and Services of the Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, LL.D., Delivered before the Citizens of Hartford, Jan. 7th, 1852* (Hartford: Brockett & Hutchinson, 1852); Heman Humphrey, *The Life and Letters of the Rev. T. H. Gallaudet* (New York: Robert Carter & Bros., 1857).

Dr. Cogswell decided to send someone abroad to study the methods of instruction in one of the schools for the deaf already successful, and the necessary fund for this purpose was promptly raised. The young minister who had been interested in teaching the child was chosen as the person to undertake the mission of learning the methods of educating the deaf abroad. He was then to return to establish a school in Hartford. The Gallaudet journal contains the following lines:

Green wrote a letter, published some years later (1804) in a medical journal, "On Teaching the Deaf To Understand Language and the Dumb To Speak," an article which is said to have influenced the foundation of the New York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, which was opened in 1817.

While in London in 1783, Francis Green published a small volume, *Vox Oculis Subjecta: A Dissertation on the Most Curious and Important Art of Imparting Speech and the Knowledge of Language to the Naturally Deaf and (Consequently) Dumb*. In this "Dissertation on the Curious and Important Art of Imparting Language to the Deaf" he wrote:

"Whenever we meet a person—although an entire stranger—in this unhappy predicament, or reflect on the melancholy situation of such as were born deaf, and remain consequently dumb, does not our sensibility receive a shock which is too violent and complicated to admit of description? Excluded from the knowledge of everything, except the immediate objects of sense, apparently doomed to ignorance, idleness, and uselessness, a burden to their friends, and to society, incapable in such state, of that social intercourse and communication of mind which constitutes the most pleasing and rational enjoyment of intellectual beings. . . . After the consideration of their deplorable case, what pleasure must the benevolent heart receive from the information that whatever may have been the former fate of such persons, all such may now be rescued from their miserable condition, and enabled to become not only happy and useful, but even learned members of society; for Providence, in infinite mercy, hath been pleased to point out a method, by which they may be taught, in effect to hear, and in reality to speak and read; to attain such a perfect knowledge of language, as, by observing the motion of the mouth in others, to converse intelligibly *visa voce*."

There were several schools for the deaf in Europe, the first of which was in France, founded in 1755 near Paris by the Abbé de l'Épée. A school had been started near Hamburg at about the same time. Another school was founded in Rome in 1784 and one in Genoa in 1801.

HARTFORD, CONN. Thursday evening, April 20, 1815. I informed Dr. Mason F. Cogswell and Mr. Ward Woodbridge of my willingness to undertake the employment of instructing the deaf and dumb in my own country.³

He reached London in July, 1815, and spent more than seven months in England and Scotland. In England the schools using the Braidwood method were not hospitable to the young clergyman. The London school finally agreed to admit him to study its methods if he would stay for a period of three years. He would not consider giving so long a time to his mission and went to Edinburgh, also without success. Finally, in March, 1816, after his long period of delay⁴ and frustration, he went to Paris, where there was a school for "deaf-mutes," to see Abbé Sicard, then the head of the school. In this school the sign language or manual method was used instead of the method of articulation. The American visitor was immediately allowed to come to the school and to arrange for private lessons from an assistant. Two months later he made an arrangement to have one of the teachers, a deaf-mute who had been a pupil there, return to Hartford with him; and he sailed from Havre with M. Laurent Clerc on June 18. Gallaudet had other interests in Paris—"numerous social engagements and some sight seeing"—and he "acted as pastor to an English-speaking congregation, preaching no less than fifteen sermons, which were afterwards published in a volume," so that apparently he did not have a great deal of time to acquire the French system. An early account of his work says of the period abroad:

³ Edward Miner Gallaudet, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴ Alexander Graham Bell (*op. cit.*) said that the Braidwoods "succeeded in creating a family monopoly of the whole art of instructing the deaf in Great Britain, which lasted at least until the year 1815. Teachers were even placed under heavy bonds to keep the methods of instruction secret. The Braidwoods published nothing." Bell quotes from Francis Green, who said that the Braidwoods "so far from allowing the world at large the knowledge of their advances or the benefit of their improvements, have rather . . . been desirous of keeping them in obscurity and mystery."

April
and
to un-
deaf

and
land
sing
able
hool
its
d of
ving
it to
y, in
elay⁴
there
o see
l. In
mual
d of
im-
and
a as-
a ar-
rs, a
, re-
ailed
June
ris—
some
to an
hing
were
that
al of
An
eriod



THOMAS HOPKINS GALLAUDET
1787-1851

at the
amily
the
until
under
action
Bell
braid-
ge the
their
us of

la
ti
sy
ho
In
st
an
B
hi
to

vo
he
“
in

ac
le
ye
sa
fu
vi
an
sc

m
fo
la
ac
er

be
his
fo
wi
lig

tw
I h
my
bo
con
you
tion
the
dur

tral
Pre
Con
“de

The Rev. Thos. H. Gallaudet visited England and Scotland, and applied at the institutions in those countries for instruction in their system; but meeting with unexpected difficulties he repaired to France and obtained at the Royal Institute of Paris those qualifications for an instructor of the deaf and dumb, which a selfish and mistaken policy had refused him in Great Britain. Accompanied by Mr. Laurent Clerc, himself deaf and dumb, Mr. Gallaudet returned to this country in August, 1816.

He reached New York after a return voyage of fifty-three days. During this time he worked with his new assistant, M. Clerc, "to perfect himself in the art of deaf-mute instruction."

The friends of the new institution got an act of incorporation from the Connecticut legislature, May, 1816, and later in that year the legislature appropriated five thousand dollars for the new institution. Getting funds was Gallaudet's first task, and he visited New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Albany. On April 15, 1817, the new school opened.

In 1818 the principal of the new school made an attempt to get help from Congress for the asylum, and in 1819 a township of land of more than twenty-three thousand acres in Alabama was granted—the first federal grant⁵ for a public welfare service.

The activities of his later years need not be reviewed here. The following extract from his long letter to the directors of the Hartford Asylum in 1830, when his difficulties with his staff led to his resignation, throws light on his work at the institution:

The employment of making signs daily for twelve years is one demanding vigorous health. I have found it, together with the pressure of my other duties, making deep inroads upon my bodily constitution. During the last term, in consequence of a statement which I made to you, gentlemen, I was released from the instruction of a class, with reference more especially to the preparation of some books for the deaf and dumb. . . .

⁵ See S. P. Breckinridge, *Public Welfare Administration in the United States* (University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 172-95, for the action taken by the Congress on the requests for federal aid for the "deaf and dumb."

It ought not to be concealed, that I entertain views, with regard to what the principal of such an institution might accomplish, if released from the instruction of a class, so as very much to promote its welfare, with which those of most, perhaps all, of the other instructors, do not coincide. They think, as I am informed by the chairman of the committee, and this without any reference to myself personally, that the true interests of the school require, that the principal should, in addition to his other peculiar duties, be engaged in the instruction of a class. They also think that the peculiar duties of the principal, out of school, need not occupy more than one hour daily. Consider this estimate as correct, though in my opinion it is far from being so, taking into account the performance by me, in addition to the instruction of a class—and what time will be left for the principal to devote to the general progress of the classes, to the training up of instructors, to the delivering of lectures on signs, to the maturing improvements in the course of instruction, to the religious instruction of the lower classes, to the preparation of suitable books, to the general good order and prosperity of the institution, both in the school-room and the workshops, and to the publication of the annual reports. . . .

May I allude to the peculiar difficulties which I had to encounter, and which, by the blessing of God, I overcame while in Europe; to the amount of funds which I was instrumental in raising; to the successive annual reports which I have prepared; to the impressions made by means of addresses, and sermons, and public exhibitions, on legislatures and the inhabitants of some of our largest cities, and on the Congress of the United States, favorable to the prosperity of the institution; to the securing, by previous correspondence and by my own personal attendance on their respective legislatures, the appointment of commissioners from the New England States, and the abandonment of projects almost ripe for execution, for the establishment of other schools, and the concentration of public patronage on one for all New England; to the conducting for years a very delicate and difficult controversy, if it may be so called, with the New York institution, and affording complete satisfaction to the commissioners chosen on the part of that state to visit the institution of the superiority of our mode of instruction; to the enlisting the feelings and good will of hundreds of respectable visitors from all parts of the Union; to the carrying on a correspondence with

distinguished individuals and officers of government, with regard to the interests of the deaf and dumb generally and the welfare of this institution more particularly; to the making improvements in the course, and manner of instruction, and in the religious exercises of the pupils; to the educating some pupils who are now assistant teachers, and to the furnishing in the early progress of the school specimens of the attainments of the pupils which excited surprise even in the older establishments in Europe; and in these, and other ways, to the securing to this institution, while yet in its infancy, the approbation and patronage of our own country, and an elevated rank among those of long standing in foreign countries. . . .⁶

The Hartford institution finally attracted a large number of pupils, and Gallaudet visited other states, taking some of his pupils with him to exhibit the results of their work. He wanted to have children sent to Hartford from other states instead of having new schools opened. He was for a long time successful in having children sent from the other New England states to his institution.

He gave up his work at Hartford in 1830, in part, because of certain disagreements with other members of the staff. His resignation was accepted by the board of directors.

The school trained many of the teachers who went into the schools that were being established in the other states. By 1860 there were twenty-three American asylums for the deaf and dumb (or schools for the deaf). In this way the sign language or manual method instead of the superior oral method of instruction became widely adopted in this country, and it became difficult to change to the better method.

Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe of Massachusetts, who with Horace Mann visited some of the German schools where the oral method was used, became convinced that the Hartford institution was teaching children the wrong way. He made the great experiment of teaching Laura Bridgman, who was blind as well as deaf and mute, how to speak. Dr. Howe also objected to segregating the special handicapped groups and

looked forward to the time when they could be taught in special classes in schools with other children.

Dr. Howe, writing in 1865,⁷ protested against the segregation of blind and deaf children in institutions, except for a short period. He also protested against the "intensification of peculiarities growing out of an infirmity." "Our principle in treating them," he said, "should be that of separation and diffusion, not congregation. We are to educate them for the society of those who hear and who see; and the earlier we begin the better."

We violate this principle when we gather them into institutions; but we do so in view of certain advantages of instruction in common, which are not to be had in any other feasible method; as we bear with an inferior common school rather than have none. A man of wealth might, indeed—and if he were wise, would—allow his mute or blind child to spend certain time in a well-regulated institution for like children; but it would be only a short one.

Guided by this principle we should, in providing for the instruction and training of these persons, have the association among them as little as is possible, and counteract its tendencies by encouraging association and intimacy with common society. They should be kept together no more closely and no longer than is necessary for their special instruction. . . .

In an article on "The Natural Language of Signs; and Its Value and Uses in the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb," published long after he had given up teaching, Gallaudet wrote:

My object is to show the intrinsic value and, indeed, indispensable necessity of the use of natural signs in the education of the deaf and dumb. . . . In attempting this I wish I had time to go somewhat at length into the genius of the natural language of signs; to compare it with merely oral language, and to show, as I think I could, its decided superiority over the latter, so far as respects its peculiar adaptation to the mind of childhood and early youth. . . .

Instructors of the deaf and dumb should ap-

⁷ See below, p. 384, for a section of Dr. Howe's report of that year relating to the problem of deaf-mute education. See *Social Service Review*, I, 291-309, for material about Dr. Howe.

⁶ Gallaudet, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 179-80, 183-84.

preciate the great importance of being masters of the natural language of signs,—of excelling in this language; of being able to make delineating and descriptive signs with graphical and picture-like accuracy; of acquiring the power to have the inmost workings of their souls,—their various thoughts and feelings, with their fainter and stronger shades of distinctive character,—*beam out* through the eye, countenance, attitude, movement, and gesture; and of doing all this with spirit, grace, and fluency, and for the love of doing it.

The labor is not small, indeed, that must be undergone, in order to possess these indispensable qualifications of an accomplished instructor of the deaf and dumb. To acquire them, the new and inexperienced teacher must consent, carefully and perseveringly, to take lesson after lesson of the older teacher who is proficient in this language, while the older teacher must have the patience to give them lessons. For the language of signs is not to be learned from books. It cannot be delineated in pictures or printed on paper. It must be learned, in a great degree, from the living, looking, acting model. Some of the finest models for such a purpose are found among the originators of this language, the deaf and dumb. The peculiarities of their mind and character, and the genius of that singularly beautiful and impressive language which nature has taught them, should be the constant study of those whose beneficent calling it is to elevate them in the scale of intellectual, social, and moral existence; to fit them for usefulness and respectability in this life, and happiness in that which is to come.⁸

His son wrote of him:

Mr. Gallaudet's practice as a teacher was consistent, with this earnest preaching. He loved the language of signs and made a lifelong study of it. That he was such a master of it is due in part to his patience and painstaking as a student of it. But his eminence in pantomime was, no doubt, in large measure owing to inherited natural ability derived from those Italian ancestors of whom mention was made in the early pages of this book.⁹

That Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet was a pioneer in the teaching of deaf children cannot be denied; but the man who was responsible for the sign language in our Ameri-

can schools for the deaf for so long a period can hardly be called a public benefactor.

The following documents include extracts from the first three annual reports of the first American "asylum for the deaf and dumb"; and some extracts from the discussion by Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe in 1865 of the education of deaf children by the oral method—which throw light on the work of Gallaudet and the institution for which he was so largely responsible.

I. THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CONNECTICUT ASYLUM JUNE 1, 1817

TO THE CONNECTICUT¹⁰ ASYLUM FOR THE EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION OF DEAF AND DUMB PERSONS, THE COMMITTEE RESPECTFULLY PRESENT THE FOLLOWING REPORT:

It will be very gratifying to the patrons and friends of this institution to learn, that through the blessing of a kind providence, its doors are now opened, notwithstanding the numerous obstacles and disappointments which have been encountered from the commencement of our labors. A numerous and interesting family of the unfortunate are already assembled, and we behold those minds which were like a waste hedged about with thorns, now yielding to the cultivation of science, and daily affording promise of abundant intellectual improvement. Are any still sceptical on the subject of promoting the happiness of the deaf and dumb by education? Let them visit the Asylum, and behold the social circle in the evening hour, delighted in exhibiting those first rudiments of learning which they have already acquired. And let the christian look forward with a humble hope, that many of these immortal souls may not only be rescued from intellectual darkness, but that they may also be brought to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and finally be found among the redeemed of the Lord. It cannot be expected that any very interesting details respecting the pupils, should at this time be communicated: but it may be of use to record, in a very brief manner, the origin and progress of that institution,

¹⁰ Later, in May, 1819, the name was changed to "American Asylum, at Hartford, for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb." In the 1893-95 biennial report the name became "American School, at Hartford, for the Deaf."

⁸ Gallaudet, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-66.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

which takes the lead in this western world, in the instruction of those who have hitherto remained neglected and forgotten.

About two years since, seven persons met in this city, and appointed a committee to solicit funds to enable Mr. Gallaudet to visit Europe, for the purpose of qualifying himself to become an instructor of the deaf and dumb. The generous promptitude with which means were furnished, put it in his power to embark soon after for England. Not meeting with a satisfactory reception at the London Asylum, he went to Edinburgh. Here new obstacles arose from an obligation which had been imposed upon the institution in that city, not to instruct teachers in the art for a term of years; thus rendering unavailing the friendly desires of its benevolent instructor, and the kind wishes of its generous patrons. After these repeated disappointments and discouragements, in which, however, let us behold a providential hand, Mr. Gallaudet departed for Paris, where he met with a very courteous and favorable reception from the Abbé Sicard, and soon commenced his course of lessons in the establishment over which that celebrated instructor presides. An arrangement made with Mr. Laurent Clerc, himself deaf and dumb, one of the professors in the institution of Paris, and well known in Europe as a most intelligent pupil of his illustrious master, enabled Mr. Gallaudet to return to his native country, with this valuable assistant, much sooner than had been expected. By this circumstance, a new zeal in the cause was excited, in some measure commensurate with the more favorable auspices under which the interests of our Asylum now appeared. They arrived in this place in August last, and soon after visited some of our large cities, for the purpose of soliciting funds for the establishment; with what success, may be learned by referring to the treasurer's account connected with this report. Many instances of individual munificence will be found recorded in the list of donations. The patrons of this institution need not our thanks: they have a higher gratification in the reflection, that they have contributed to the means which we are now using, for shedding light upon many an immortal mind, which, but for their munificence, might otherwise have remained in darkness. We solicit their prayers that the means they have furnished may be so blessed as to promote the cause of Christ, and the eternal welfare of those who are here benefited by their bounty.

In May, 1816, the legislature of this state

passed an act incorporating this institution; and in October last, made a grant of five thousand dollars in aid of its funds.

The establishment was opened on the 15th April, and it already contains upwards of twenty pupils, whose names are subjoined to this report. A number of them are of full age, some of whom have expressed much interest at the attempts which have been made, as yet in a very imperfect manner, to explain to them some of the simplest doctrines of revelation.

When we look back we have surely cause for abundant gratitude to God for what has already been accomplished; and although we have to lament that our means are altogether inadequate to the support and instruction of those pupils who are in indigent circumstances, let us look forward with humble confidence that HE, by the word of whose power the dumb spake, can prepare the way before us, and will, if he see fit, make use of this Asylum as an instrument, not only to increase the temporal happiness of those who may become the objects of its care, but to communicate to them a knowledge of himself, as their only Saviour, and of those mansions of rest, where all will equally rejoice in the participation of happiness without imperfection, and without end.

HARTFORD, June 1st, 1817

II. THE SECOND ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CONNECTICUT ASYLUM MAY 16, 1818

TO THE PATRONS AND FRIENDS OF THE CONNECTICUT ASYLUM FOR THE EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION OF DEAF AND DUMB PERSONS THE DIRECTORS RESPECTFULLY PRESENT THE FOLLOWING REPORT:

The history of its past year furnishes a new occasion of gratitude to Almighty God, to all who feel interested in the welfare of the Asylum. During this period the pupils have enjoyed an unusual degree of health, and we again witness their return, delighted at the prospect which the coming year affords them of domestic enjoyment with each other, and of further improvement in intellectual and religious knowledge. Many thanks are due to the "author of every good and perfect gift," for the various blessings which HE has scattered in the paths of these our unfortunate fellow beings;—especially for the preservation of the life and health of their worthy companion in misfortune, to whose faithful and successful labours, under God, they

and their friends owe so much for the remarkable deference and obedience which they have generally exhibited towards those who have had the care of them; for the faithful industry with which they have pursued their studies; and for the harmony and good-will which have marked their happy intercourse with each other—an intercourse, too, which has contributed, in no small degree, to their improvement in the acquisition of language, by affording them frequent opportunities of conversation with their instructors and each other.—They have secured, also, the universal affection and esteem of their acquaintances in the town in which they reside. And this deserved praise is bestowed upon them, not to excite their vanity, but for the better purpose of encouraging them in the way of well doing; of affording consolation to their friends; and, may we add, of leading all who feel interested in their happiness, to think how much gratitude is due to that Saviour, by whose continual intercession, so many comforts have descended from the source of all good, to soothe and to cheer them.

Thus far the labours of the instructors have been principally directed to the improvement of the pupils in written language. This is the only avenue to the various departments of knowledge which books contain, and which must, forever, be inaccessible to the deaf and dumb, until they become familiar with the powers and use of letters in their various forms and combinations. This, also, is necessary even for the purposes of their common intercourse with mankind, most of whom know nothing of the manner in which thoughts can so easily and distinctly be expressed by signs and gestures.

Some simple lessons, however, have been given the pupils in astronomy and geography; and their views of the world which they inhabit have been much enlarged by occasional descriptions of its mighty and diversified population, with its varieties of climate, manners, customs and government. Still, correct orthography, the meaning of words, and their combination into phrases and sentences, have been the objects of instruction to which the attention of the teachers has been, and must, for some considerable time to come, yet be, principally, directed. The magnitude of their task, in this respect, will doubtless be duly appreciated by all reflecting minds, when it is considered, how many years of patient labour must be bestowed even upon those youth who are in possession of all their faculties, before they are able to read and write

their mother tongue correctly; possessing, too, as they do, a most invaluable privilege of which the deaf and dumb are deprived,—the constant opportunity of learning language by their daily intercourse with mankind.

How far the use of written language, as a medium for the communication of thought, has been successfully taught in the Asylum during the past year, may be perhaps estimated from a few specimens of the compositions of some of the most advanced pupils, *entirely original* with regard to thought, style, choice of words, and orthography, which are annexed to this report.

Of the general success, too, which has crowned the labours of the instructors, and the very faithful and assiduous application of the pupils, the directors deem it but justice to say, that it has removed the doubts of many incredulous, and the forebodings of many fearful persons; that it has settled the question of the practicability of affording ample useful instruction in the various departments of intellectual and religious knowledge to the intelligent deaf and dumb; that it has gained the decided approbation of those who have visited the school; and, that, so far as the information of the Directors has extended, it has equalled the most sanguine expectations of the parents and friends of the pupils.

Much time and patient labour, however, will yet be necessary to place this infant establishment upon such a basis that it can enjoy all the facilities of improvement which a long course of experience has furnished to similar institutions in Europe. The system of instruction, in its general outlines, is like that so successfully pursued in the institution in Paris. It sprang from the wonderful genius of the Abbé de l'Épée. His successor is the venerable Abbé Sicard, who still, in the decline of life, enjoys all the freshness and energy of youth, and like some stately tree of the forest, extending its arms, as if for the support and protection of the plants which fondly encircle its trunk, spreads his parental care over the unfortunate children to whose happiness his talents and life have been devoted. This father of the deaf and dumb is now exhibiting, even to this new world, the most satisfactory proof of the admirable perfection to which he has carried the system of his predecessor, in the attainments of his interesting and worthy pupil. This system, however, so matured in all its philosophical principles, and so sure of efficacy in its practical result, is yet, in some respects, to be accommodated to the pe-

culiar structure and idioms of our own language. The regular course of lessons in the Asylum is yet to be reduced to method, and its instructors, with the exception of Mr. Clerc, to whom our country will ever be indebted for the possession of his curious and ingenious art, are yet, under his skill and guidance, to be trained to the complete mastery of the science and practice of their profession.

The instructors have felt it to be their duty to exert themselves to convey useful religious knowledge to their pupils and there is reason to believe that their exertions have not been without success. In a regular series of written lectures always explained and illustrated by signs, the principal events recorded in the sacred volume, with some of its essential doctrines, have been communicated to the most attentive group of expectants of delight, which perhaps the eye ever witnessed. To their astonished view has been opened the sublime idea of the Infinite and Eternal God, the Creator and Sustainer of all things, concerning whose existence and character some of these imprisoned minds seemed to have had scarcely any conception, while those of mature age, who had been led by the instruction of their friends to the contemplation of some Being in the heavens, evidently had formed of him the most crude, and, in some instances, the most absurd notions. A knowledge, also, of the soul's immortality, of a future state of retribution, and of the manner in which their external existence may be rendered happy, has been, in part at least, unfolded to them. They have been taught, too, how much love they owe to their Heavenly Father; how they ought, by their own expressive language of signs, to pray to him; and how they are bound to imitate the example of Christ in the habitual exercise of charity and good-will towards all their fellow-men. The more advanced pupils have understood these truths to a very considerable extent, and all have made such progress in the acquisition of religious knowledge, as to sanction the belief, that nothing but persevering efforts will be necessary for the complete development to their minds of those truths, the understanding and belief of which, under the blessing of God, will conduce to their own present and future happiness, and fit them for usefulness in the world. It is a fact, too, which ought to encourage the hopes, and animate the prayers, of all the friends of the Asylum, that the knowledge already imparted to the pupils has had a very happy influence upon them; while the eagerness

with which they receive instruction, and the interest with which they often converse about it, with their teachers, and among themselves, afford a truly animating prospect.

Since the commencement of the Asylum, its expenses have been more considerable than the public seem generally to be aware of. It was at first necessary, that the Principal should visit Europe; he brought back with him a most valuable professor of the art of teaching the deaf and dumb; they spent several months in travelling through some parts of our country to awaken public attention and procure public bounty; the school room has needed stationery, and slates of a very large size for each pupil, besides smaller slates and other furniture; the dwelling house has been provided with suitable accommodations; and, now, from the increase of pupils, (the number of those who has risen from twenty-one, whose names appeared in the last report to forty-one*), it has become necessary to procure new school rooms and two new instructors, making in all five teachers.

The domestic happiness, too, of so numerous a family; its religious order; its good manners and morals; with its thousand nameless wants, demand the care of those who will supply the place of father and mother. And the Directors feel a peculiar pleasure in making it known to the friends of the Asylum, that its superintendence is entrusted to the Rev. Samuel Whittlesey and his lady, in whose parental watchfulness and kindness they place the most entire confidence, trusting, that under their fostering care the pupils of this Asylum will grow up to increased respectability and usefulness.

All this machinery cannot move without considerable expense, and the fact is, that each pupil has been charged a less annual sum for board, washing, and tuition than these articles have cost the Asylum. Applications for admission are constantly received, and it will be impossible for the Institution to enlarge the sphere of its usefulness without such aid, either from public or private munificence, as will enable it to provide instructors, erect buildings, and purchase grounds for the improvement and accommodation of its increasing numbers. The present state of the funds of the Asylum will be seen by referring to the Treasurer's account connected with this report.

For the supply of the future wants of the Asylum, the directors would first look to Al-

* Several more pupils are expected daily.

mighty God who has the hearts of all men in his hands, trusting that he will not forsake this vine, which they believe his own right hand has planted, but so animate the prayers and excite the benevolence of all who love to imitate the example of his compassionate Son our Saviour, that the future prosperity of this infant establishment may add new lustre to the trophies which now so widely mark the successful progress of the Redeemer's kingdom in the earth. To *Him* be this Asylum consecrated; within its walls may *his* name be precious; and from *his* fulness may it derive all its temporal and spiritual blessings.

HARTFORD, May 16, 1818

III. THE THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CONNECTICUT ASYLUM MAY 15, 1819

.... Four different modes of communication, are employed in conducting the business of instruction. The *first*, on which all the rest are founded, and without which every attempt to teach the deaf and dumb would be utterly vain and fruitless,—is the natural language of signs, originally employed by the deaf and dumb in all their intercourse with their friends and each other, singularly adapted to their necessities, and so significant and copious in its various expressions, that it furnishes them with a medium of conversation on all common topics the very moment that they meet, although, before, entire strangers to each other, and it is even used by themselves, in a vast variety of instances, to denote the invisible operations of their minds and emotions of their hearts.

The *second* mode of communication, is the *same* natural language of signs, divested of certain peculiarities of dialect which have grown out of the various circumstances of life under which different individuals have been placed, reduced to one general standard, and methodized and enlarged by the admirable genius of the Abbé de l'Épée and the still more ingenious improvements of his venerable successor, the Abbé Sicard, so as to accommodate it to the structure and idioms of written language, and thus to render it in itself a perspicuous, complete and copious medium of thought, bearing so strong an affinity to the Chinese language of hieroglyphical symbols, that what the profound Mr. Morrison, in the preface to his very elaborate dictionary of the language of that singular people, says of the one, may with exact truth be

applied to the other. "To convey ideas to the mind by the eye, the Chinese language answers all the purposes of a written medium, as well as the alphabetic system of the west, and perhaps in some respects better. As sight is quicker than hearing, so ideas reaching the mind by the eye, are quicker, more striking and vivid, than those which reach the mind by the slow progress of sound. The character forms a picture, which really is, or by early associations is considered, beautiful and impressive. The Chinese fine writing darts upon the mind with a vivid flash, a force and a beauty of which alphabetic language is incapable. Chinese writing is also more permanent than the alphabetic system, which is ever varying its spelling with the continually changing pronunciation of the living voice. Perhaps the Chinese written language has contributed in some degree to the unity of the Chinese nation." All this, without exaggeration, is equally true of the language of the deaf and dumb when reduced to a regular system, so that it differs from the Chinese language, only, or principally in this respect, that the latter forms its symbols with the pencil, while the other portrays them by gesture, the attitudes of the body and the variations of the countenance.

The *third* mode of communication, is by means of the manual alphabet, by which the different letters of our English language are distinctly formed by one hand.—This enables the deaf and dumb, after they have been taught the meaning and use of words, to converse with their friends with all the precision and accuracy of written language, and with four times the rapidity with which ideas can be expressed by writing. A person of common understanding can very soon learn this alphabet, and it affords to all who will bestow the trifling pains which are necessary to acquire it, a ready, easy, sure and expeditious mode of conversing on all subjects with the deaf and dumb.

The *fourth* mode of communication, is by means of writing. This is habitually employed in the school rooms, and by it the pupils are taught the correct orthography of our language, to correspond by letters with their friends, and to derive from books the vast treasures of knowledge which they contain.

Articulation is not taught. It would require more time than the present occasion furnishes, to state the reasons which have induced the Principal of the Asylum and his associates not to waste their labour and that of their pupils

upon this comparatively useless branch of the education of the deaf and dumb. In no case is it the source of any original knowledge to the mind of the pupil. In few cases does it succeed so as to answer any valuable end. But its real value may well be estimated from the opinions of one of the most distinguished philosophers of the age, who for many years resided in Edinburgh, where Mr. Braidwood, perhaps the most accomplished teacher of articulation to the deaf and dumb which the world ever saw, lived and kept his school. The mere mention of the name of Dugald Stewart, is sufficient to give force to any sentiments which so profound an observer of the human mind may have expressed on this interesting subject. In his account of James Mitchell, a boy born blind and deaf, published in the transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Part First of Vol. VII. page 39. he says,—"But Sicard's aim was of a different, and of a higher nature; not to astonish the vulgar by the sudden conversion of a dumb child into a speaking *automaton*; but, by affording scope to those means which nature herself has provided for the gradual evolution of our intellectual powers, to convert his pupil into a rational and moral being."—And again, page 46. "I have been led to insist at some length on the philosophical merits of Sicard's plan of instruction for the Dumb, not only because his fundamental principles admit of an obvious application (*mutatis mutandis*) to the case of Mitchell; but because his book does not seem to have attracted so much notice in this country as might have been expected, among those who have devoted themselves to the same profession. Of this no stronger proof can be produced, than the stress which has been laid, by most of our teachers, on the power of articulation, which can rarely, if ever, repay to a person born deaf, the time and pains necessary for the acquisition. This error was, no doubt, owing, in the first instance, to a very natural, though very gross mistake, which confounds the gift of speech with the gift of reason; but I believe it has been prolonged and confirmed in England, not a little, by the common union of this branch of *trade* with the more lucrative one, of professing to cure organical impediments. To teach the dumb to speak, besides, (although, in fact, entitled to rank only a little higher than the art of training starlings and parrots), will always appear to the multitude a far more wonderful feat of ingenuity, than to unfold silently the latent capacities of the understanding; an effect which

is not, like the other, palpable to sense, and of which but a few are able either to ascertain the existence, or to appreciate the value.—It is not surprising, therefore, that even those teachers who are perfectly aware of the truth of what I have now stated, should persevere in the difficult, but comparatively useless attempt, of imparting to their pupils that species of accomplishment which is to furnish the only scale upon which the success of their labours is ever likely to be measured by the public."

Abandoning, then, the comparatively useless attempt to teach their pupils articulation, the instructors in the Asylum, have laboured rather to convey important intellectual and religious knowledge to their minds by means of the four modes of communication which have been already mentioned. With what success these labours have been crowned can be best appreciated by those who have had an opportunity of witnessing the very satisfactory progress of the pupils; by the inspection of their own original composition; and from the testimony of their parents and friends, who, it is confidently believed, have in all cases expressed the most unqualified approbation of the attainments which they have made in a comparatively short space of time.

The mere improvement, of the pupils, however, in intellectual knowledge, has formed but a part of the plan which the Principal and his associates, together with the Superintendent and his lady have pursued. The original design of this Institution was to make it *the gate to heaven* for those poor lambs of the flock who have hitherto been wandering in the paths of ignorance, like sheep without a shepherd. . . .

HARTFORD, May 15, 1819

IV. DR. SAMUEL GRIDLEY HOWE ON THE EDUCATION OF THE DEAF AND THE HARTFORD SCHOOL, 1865²²

Language, in its largest sense, is the most important instrument of thought, feeling, and emotion; and especially of social intercourse. . . . Speech is essential for human development. Without it full social communion is impossible; since there can be no effectual substitute for it. The rudimentary and lower part of language, or pantomime, is open to mutes; but

²² From *Second Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, January, 1866* (Boston, 1866), pp. liii-lviii.

the higher and finer part, that is, speech, is forever closed; and any substitute for it is, at best, imperfect. This begets a tendency to isolation; which not being so effectually checked during youth, as it is with the blind, by a sense of dependence, becomes more formidable. To be mute, therefore, implies a tendency to isolation. The blind need little special instruction; the mutes a great deal.

An attempt to consider modes of instructing mutes would lead into a wide field of discussion; but it may be remarked that in the plentitude of arguments and disputes . . . , it has not been enough considered that, by teaching a mute to articulate, we bring him to closer association with us by using our vernacular in our way, than by teaching him the finger language, which can never become our vernacular. The special method tends more to segregate him and his fellows from ordinary society. In the first case one party adheres to the natural and ordinary method of speech, and the other party strives to imitate it; in the second, both use a purely arbitrary and conventional method.

The favorite motto of the adherents of the method of dactylogy betrays this fault,—*"Lingua vicaria manus;"* for the very vicariousness is objectionable, and ought to be lessened as much as is possible. . . .

In the education of the deaf mutes and of the blind we are to counteract the limitation by special instruction given through the remaining senses; and we are to counteract the tendency to inharmonious development by special influences, both social and moral.

Special educational influences, to counteract these special morbid tendencies, should begin with the beginning of life and continue to its end; and they should be more uniform and persistent with mutes than with the blind.

The constant object should be to fashion them into the likeness of common men by subjecting them to common social influences, and to check the tendency to isolation and to intensification of the peculiarities which grow out of their infirmity.

A consideration of the principles imperfectly set forth above, will show that when we gather mutes and blind into institutions for the purpose of instruction, we are in danger of sowing, with sound wheat, some tares that may bring forth evil fruit. The mere instruction may be excellent, but other parts of the education tend to isolate them from common social influences, and to intensify their peculiarities, and this is bad.

The correctness of the general principles set forth thus hastily will hardly be doubted by thoughtful and experienced persons. It may be said, however, that the theories are fine spun, and that if the unfavorable tendencies (arising out of mutism, for instance,) are strengthened by mutes being congregated together during youth in an asylum, these tendencies are too slight to be of any account. But all moral forces are of account.

Besides, we have already practical proofs of their force.

A society has been recently formed here among the mutes for public religious worship in the sign language. Now such an association, surely, is not according to sound sociological principles. The tendency is to further isolation of mutes from general society. It promotes their segregation, and thus their formation into a special class. Moreover, the desire or the want of such a society proves not only a mistaken system of education, but suggests that there was a mistaken method of instruction. If our mutes, educated at Hartford, had been taught articulation, and taught as well as children are taught in the German schools, they might attend public worship in our churches; they all would partake the common spirit of religious devotion (which public worship does so much to strengthen;) most of them would seize the sense and meaning of the service and sermon; and the intelligent ones would catch enough of the very words of the preacher to understand his discourse.

This statement is not made hastily or thoughtlessly.

Another illustration of the unfavorable tendencies to isolation just spoken of may be found in the fact that a project has been started for forming a village, or community, for deaf mutes, where they may work and live together.

The aid of the State has been asked for this project; but the good sense of the legislature will prevent any encouragement of such an unreasonable project. It is easy to see, however, that the idea is one of those erroneous ones which grow out of the system of congregating so many mutes at Hartford. . . .

In Europe the evils above alluded to are more serious than they are here, and they have led thoughtful men to seek methods for obviating them. A plan for educating both mutes and blind in common schools has been advocated by some, and it has been tried pretty extensively in France, and less so in Russia. . . .

There is much to be urged in favor of such a

plan, which is certainly more conformable to sound principles than our plan of keeping the mutes and the blind congregated together for many years in great institutions; but probably all the essential features of it may be grafted upon our system, without abandoning that special instruction which cannot be given in common schools, and which seems to be so conducive to the interests, and to the happiness of these afflicted classes.

The American Asylum for Deaf Mutes, at Hartford.—Went into operation in 1824. At about the same time a similar institution was established in Kentucky. It was, perhaps, under the supposition that these establishments would suffice for the whole country that the United States Government endowed them with a grant of land. The endowment was not intended for the special benefit of the mutes of any State; and the managers of the Hartford school have, very properly, given a share of its advantages to mutes from other States by keeping them at less than actual cost. . . .

The instruction is given by a corps of able, accomplished, and zealous teachers.

The asylum is visited regularly by committees of the legislature and by official persons. No well grounded complaints of neglect or ill treatment have been made to them; and this Board does not believe there is just cause for any.

Many intelligent persons, conversant with the methods of instruction used in Europe, have, however, believed that the method

adopted at the commencement of the Hartford school, and steadily persisted in ever since, is not the best one; and that a radical change ought to be made. Such change was at one time so strongly urged by some of our citizens, especially by the first Secretary of the Board of Education, Horace Mann, that the managers of the Hartford school yielded to the pressure. They sent a commission to examine the European schools; and agreed to give to the method of teaching articulation a fair trial, with a certain number of their pupils. The results have been very unsatisfactory to all parties, as was to be expected, because the experiment was not made by friends of the method, who believed in it, and were ready to stake their reputation upon its success. It was like committing the consideration of a measure to a committee made up mainly of persons opposed to it. The friends of the system of articulation do not believe that it ever can have a fair trial in the Hartford school, because the managers have the whole power in their hands, and being honestly and firmly wedded to the old system, will feel obliged to adhere to it. Such persons will, therefore, persist in efforts to obtain for the mutes of Massachusetts the benefit of what they believe to be a vastly better system of instruction. Some of this Board share in this belief; and others, without pretending to decide upon the comparative merits of different systems of instruction, believe that many benefits would arise from having the wards of the State taught within her borders.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

"STATISTICS AND PEACE"

ALTHOUGH every group looks hopefully toward finding its place in helping to build a new world of peace and prosperity, one did not expect to find statistics working toward this special end.

However, a recent *News Letter* of the International Statistical Institute, which is holding its twenty-fifth session in Washington in September, 1947, has a short and interesting note as follows:

After the world's greatest war Mankind is searching for peace and security by new means of international cooperation. The United Nations and its "Specialized Agencies"—the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, and others—are the official architects of the new world order for which men hope and wait.

If they are to be successful, their factual information must be dependable and adequate. A World Statistical System must underlie and support the great tasks of international rebuilding. To the creation of this System statisticians and statistical organizations everywhere, official and unofficial alike, must contribute the best of their professional talents, their earnest collaboration and their good will.

The first opportunity in nearly ten years for the leading statisticians of the world to get together and plan their role in international affairs will be . . . the Twenty-fifth Session of the International Statistical Institute, convened at the invitation of the Government of the United States.

Meeting at the same time and place in related sessions will be the First Session of the Inter American Statistical Institute, The Econometric Society, and a group which proposes to organize an International Income Conference. The American Statistical Association will act as host. During these sessions, and related to them, will be the World Statistical Congress, convened by the United Nations and consisting of a limited program of general meetings designed to focus attention upon the statistical needs and

activities of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and non-governmental organizations.

The United States Government has invited the governments of sixty-two nations to send official delegations to the session.

For more than sixty years the International Statistical Institute has furthered the cause of international statistical development. . . .

A task of reorganization will be the election of officers (last named in 1936) and consideration of the election of new members. The world has many new statistical leaders who were little known at the time of the last business session. That Session, it may be recalled, was at Athens, in 1936, since the Prague Session of 1938 was interrupted before any business could be transacted by the impending crisis at Munich.

In view of the rapid development of official international statistical agencies, many members have expressed the opinion that the Institute's roles in the future should be professional and less official than in the past. This view is consistent with the Institute's recent provisional application for "consultative status," as a "non-governmental organization" with the United Nations, pending ratification by the General Assembly of the Institute at the Washington Session.

The World Statistical Congress, sponsored by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, recommended by the United Nations Statistical Commission and by the Population Commission, should give statistical officials of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies an opportunity

(a) to ascertain at first hand the statistical problems—both general and specific—which a worldwide representative assembly of statisticians would wish the Statistical Commission and the Statistical Office of the United Nations to consider during the next few years; (b) to explain to the statisticians of various countries the program of work on which the Statistical Commission, the Population Commission, the Sta-

tistical Office of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies and the non-governmental organizations are at present engaged or are contemplating; and (c) to explore and develop the means by which the statistical activities of the Specialized Agencies, quasi-governmental and non-governmental organizations might be related to each other and to those of the United Nations in fostering international cooperation in the improvement of statistics.

The Economic and Social Council, in convening the World Statistical Congress, is inviting members of the United Nations to participate by naming Delegations consisting of an adequate number of leading statisticians of their countries. The Council is also inviting the Specialized Agencies, intergovernmental agencies, and interested non-governmental organizations to participate by sending to the Congress officials responsible for their statistical activities and by coordinating the time and place of their statistical meetings with those of the Congress. The Council has requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to arrange for the participation of appropriate officials of the United Nations in the Congress; to circulate the agenda for the Congress sufficiently well in advance of the meeting to enable Member Governments to determine the composition of their Delegations; and to work with representatives or organizations planning statistical meetings during the same period, and to take such other action as he may consider necessary and appropriate in connection with the arrangements for the Congress.

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM

THE United Nations committee which has been writing an international bill of rights agreed at an interesting and important meeting in June with regard to the request of Professor Vladimir M. Koretsky of the Soviet Union to broaden the right of asylum to include other than political refugees. The report of the discussion in the *New York Times* noted that the U.S.S.R. delegate requested the broadening of the use of asylum. But the British representative declared that, although he subscribed wholeheartedly to the principle of asylum, he felt that it would serve no useful purpose to attempt to guarantee it in the bill of rights because of

the difficulty in formulating a clause in a way that would have any real meaning. The *Times* report said:

When an article in a French draft bill, which would give "every state the right to grant asylum to political refugees" was being discussed, Professor Koretsky asked why the article should be limited to political refugees. The Proviso, he thought, should be broadened to include scientific refugees and defenders of the rights of the working classes—groups to whom the Soviet constitution guarantees asylum, he said.

Under Article 129 of the Soviet Constitution of 1936, the U.S.S.R. "affords the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the working people, or for their scientific activities, or for their struggle for national liberation."

The committee, an organ of the Human Rights Commission, agreed that every individual should have the right to seek asylum, and that every state should have the right to decide whether or not to grant it in any particular case. However, the committee was dealing only with general principles today, and the exact drafting of the principle was reserved for a later stage of its work.

Professor Cassin of France pointed out the difficulty of formulating these two precepts in such a way that they would not cancel each other.

After the meeting [the British delegate] said he believed this difficulty, coupled with that of giving precise definition to the term "refugee," was so great that it would be better not to include the principle of asylum in the proposed bill of rights.

He said: "The present proposal says merely that a man can have asylum if a state is willing to give it to him. In principle this is admirable, but in fact it gets us no further than we are.

"Suppose a democratic regime is set up in Spain and Franco flees, seeking asylum," he continued. "I can't see that any member of the United Nations would be under any obligation to give him asylum. But under the bill of rights, would he be a criminal escaping the law, or a political refugee? Eventually you are again faced with the difficulty of defining not only 'refugee' but 'democracy.'

"England more or less originated the principle of asylum—at least we have practiced it for centuries, and we have no intention of giving



CONSULTING OUR BEGINNINGS

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

it up. It's the detailed application, not the principle, that presents difficulties.

"In the final analysis, a guarantee of asylum amounts to an admission of doubt that the other provisions of the bill of rights will be observed," he asserted. "If the other rights of man are honored everywhere, what need is there for asylum?"

Mrs. Roosevelt, president of the committee, also admitted the difficulty of formulating the principle of asylum, but expressed her faith that it would be written into the bill.

"The right to asylum has always been acknowledged here," she said, indicating the committee room. "There is no question but that it will be guaranteed—the only question is, in what form."

OUR OWN D.P. PROBLEM

A POSTWAR problem about which many welfare workers have been concerned is the problem of Europe's "displaced persons" camps and our obligation to help. But we should not overlook the plight of our own special D.P.'s—the evacuated *Nisei* of the West Coast. An Associated Press account of the present situation of their claims is as follows:

America's own "displaced persons" problem—the 110,000 Japanese-Americans evacuated as a military measure two months after Pearl Harbor—now is before a House committee.

The problem is one of compensating those evacuated for resulting losses and not, as in Europe, of finding them a home.

The Japanese-Americans themselves have taken care of the homes problem, after being released from detention camps. Some moved back to the homes they left in California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Alaska or Hawaii.

Many others went to the Middle West, particularly to Chicago, and some went to the East Coast. Fifteen hundred of them now are working on a 15,000-acre industrialized farm near Camden, N.J.

A bill introduced by Representative Michener (Rep., Mich.), now before a House subcommittee, would set up a commission in the Interior Department, with authority to rule on claims of loss suffered by the Japanese-Americans as a result of the hurried removal.

Representative Gwynne, chairman of the subcommittee, said today he was "inclined to

think that the subcommittee would report the bill out favorably with modifications." He said the committee would discuss the possibility of setting a maximum amount for any individual claim and inserting a clause to make ineligible for payment any Japanese-Americans of "demonstrated disloyalty."

"Many of them did suffer unusual damage," was the comment, "but there is no justification for putting them in better shape than millions of Americans who fought in the war and suffered losses as a result."

The former head of the War Relocation Authority, which handled the evacuation, estimated claims might approximate \$10,000,000.

THE WAR AND THE MARRIAGE RATE

THE news that in 1950 "there will be more recently married couples in the U.S. than ever before" is a statement in an interesting short article on "The Marriage Boom" in a recent *Newsletter* published by the Twentieth Century Fund of New York. The article says further:

Marriages tend to decrease during depressions and to increase when war is expected and in the early phase of war. In the more advanced stages of war, the marriage rate usually drops again, but it rises sharply soon after the end of the war.

During the World War I period, the rate of marriages dropped sharply in 1918, skyrocketed in 1920, dropped again to a low point in 1922, recovered in 1923 and then fluctuated within a narrow range.

In the depression years of the thirties, the marriage rate fell sharply from 89 per thousand women aged 17 to 29 to a low of less than 69 in 1932. Then it recovered to the levels of the 1920's.

Under the impact of World War II, the number of marriages began to rise long before Pearl Harbor. In 1940 it was about 200,000 higher than might be expected in accordance with the 1929 rates. In 1942 and 1943, marriages totaled more than 400,000 and 300,000 over the number theoretically expected at the 1929 rate.

Although the number of marriages declined in 1944, the cumulative surplus through the five-year period from 1940 through 1944 was close to 1.5 million. Moreover, the marriage

boom continued after the end of the war. Thus, the number of recently married couples in 1950 will be appreciably larger than in 1930 or 1940.

WORKING MOTHERS WITH YOUNG CHILDREN

THAT mothers of young children do not as a group tend to seek paid employment when their children are of preschool age was recently reported by the United States Women's Bureau. However, the Bureau emphasizes the well-known fact that some of these mothers must work because of economic pressures. And the Bureau adds, "This is especially true of the women who are the heads of their own families or the wives who feel a strong compulsion to help their husbands meet the day-by-day expenses of ordinary living and bringing up a family."

There is an interesting article on this subject in the *Labor Information Bulletin*, but social workers will want to have these facts related to the A.D.C. program, which was planned thirty-five years ago, to keep mothers with young children at home. How many of these employed mothers were getting A.D.C. grants? And were they required to supplement the grants? The Women's Bureau does not deal with A.D.C. but gives other interesting facts:

The exact number of working mothers with young children is not known, but the Bureau believes that at least 1,250,000 of the 16,000,000 women workers in 1946 fell generally within that category. Among them would be the 890,000 women described by the Census Bureau as wives of the heads of normal families (both husband and wife present) in which there were children under 6 years. [But were any of these husbands incapacitated? Included also would be the 350,000 women who themselves were heads of families in which there were one or more young children.

Again one wishes these facts had been related to A.D.C. requirements. The Women's Bureau report says further:

Strictly speaking not all of the wives or women heads in families with children present were the mothers of the children: some were grand-

mothers, aunts, or other relatives. The overall figure, however, indicates the approximate size of the working-mother group, though it does not take into account mothers who lived in family groups of which someone other than themselves or their husbands was classed as the head.

Of the total 37,900,000 families in the United States in 1946, some 28,800,000 were so-called normal families. The next largest group 6,600,000 were families in which women were the heads.

The 890,000 married women who held down jobs last year in addition to having very young children at home represented 3 percent of the wives in the Nation's normal families. More than half of them had at least one older child as well as one or more under 6. A slightly smaller group (390,000) had one or more children under 6 but none between that age and 17 years.

The 350,000 women heads of families who had outside jobs although there were preschool age children at home were, the Bureau said, "probably the working women on whom the wage-earning burden was heaviest." They accounted for 5 percent of all women family heads. The proportion was larger than among wives, despite the fact that more than 2,500,000 women heads of families were from one-person families.

About 210,000 of the women family heads had one or more children under 6 as well as at least one child in the 6-to-17 year age bracket. The remainder (140,000) had no children between 6 and 17 years of age but one or more under 6.

Such women as these obviously have little choice about the matter of working outside the home, for the need to earn a living is especially marked among women who are family heads.

Again the welfare worker would ask why the Women's Bureau does not find out whether these women were getting A.D.C. or, if not, why not?

The Bureau emphasized as most significant the tendency of women with small children to devote full time to that responsibility. Proof that they do so is reflected in the statistical picture which shows that among all normal families with children under 6 years of age, only 9 percent of the wives worked. The comparable figure for families with children under 18 but over 6 was 22.5 percent; for families without children, 23.9 percent.

In striking contrast to the normal family pic-

ture, the Bureau added, is the percentage of working mothers among the families headed by women. In more than a third of all such families where there were children under 6, the mother was a worker—or looking for work—in early 1946. She also was a worker in 50 percent of the families where there were children above 6 but under 18. Discussing other employment characteristics of the United States family in 1946, the Bureau said that the expansion of the woman labor force since 1940 had been accompanied by a sharp rise in the number of families in which both husband and wife were members of the labor force. In 5,070,000 families (almost a fifth of all normal families in 1946), both the husband and wife were working or looking for work. This was an increase of about 2,000,000 over the number of such families in which both husband and wife worked, or wanted to work, in 1940.

The increasing proportion of wives at work is due mainly, the Bureau believes, to desire or need to continue work on the part of women forced into the labor market by wartime pressures; and the long-time trends that have raised the proportions of married women at work.

Pointing to its wartime survey of employed women in 10 industrial areas of the country, the Bureau said that 44 percent of the 13,000 women interviewed were married, and that more than half of the married women planned to continue working in peacetime. Fifty-seven in every 100 said they wanted jobs to support themselves and, in many cases, other persons as well.

"A CHILD IS HURT"

THE *Review* has called attention before to the tragic accident rate for employed children and young workers. The *Labor Information Bulletin* recently published an article under the above title describing "two teen-age tragedies." This short article notes that investigations of industrial establishments by state and federal labor department inspectors show the employment of children in many jobs which are injurious and unsuitable for young people. Children are said to be found working at too young an age, for too long hours, in hazardous jobs, at night, or under other undesirable conditions. "This abuse of child labor, while not so extensive as formerly, is sufficiently frequent to call

for better enforcement of child-labor laws and continued careful inspection of establishments where minors may be illegally employed."

Another short article¹ showing that young workers are liable to industrial injuries was recently published in the *Child*. In this article it is pointed out that

child workers are more likely to be injured on the job than adult workers, and they are far more likely to suffer injuries that result in a life-long handicap. . . . The high frequency rate of industrial injuries found among minors under 18 emphasizes the need for State and community action to safeguard young people from industrial hazards.

Legislative protection can be given to young workers in three ways:

1. Through extension of the 16-year minimum-age standard to all manufacturing industries in States where lower standards prevail.
2. Through setting an 18-year minimum-age standard for employment in industries and occupations known to be especially hazardous for minors, with employment certificates required for minors up to 18 years of age and limitations on night work and on maximum working hours for minors under 18.
3. Through payment of additional compensation under State workmen's compensation laws in the case of minors injured while illegally employed. This method, although only indirectly preventive, makes possible a relatively generous restitution to children injured through society's failure to protect them.

But putting laws on the statute books is not enough by itself. The development and carrying out of desirable standards for youth employment calls for interest on the part of the entire community, and for active co-operation by parents, schools, counseling and placement services, employers, labor unions, and youth-serving agencies.

Many industrial injuries to youth could be prevented not only by better laws and by better law enforcement, but by better placement of young workers, by better training in safe practices, and by better supervision on the job, especially of the immature and less experienced worker.

¹ Miriam Noll, "Younger Workers Most Liable to Injury," *Child*, XI (May, 1947), 182.

SOME CHILD LABOR GAINS

THERE were some gains as well as a few losses for working children in this year's legislative sessions. The National Child Labor Committee published in the *American Child* the following reports, although the list is not complete as we go to press:

In Maryland, the Governor has approved the establishment of a Commission for the study of the Child Labor Laws. The Commission, to consist of eleven members, is to report the results of its findings to the Governor and the Legislative Council by September 1, 1948. Another Maryland bill, which fortunately died with the adjournment of the Legislature, would have permitted the employment of children of any age outside of school hours or during vacations if the employment certificate issuing authorities should determine that the work to be undertaken would not be physically, mentally, or morally detrimental.

Before adjourning, the North Dakota Legislature passed, and the Governor approved, a provision which raises from 16 to 18 the minimum age for work in mines.

The Maine law has been strengthened by the enactment of an 8 hour day, 48 hour, 6 day week for minors under 15 and the limitation of part-time work by minors under 15, enrolled in school, to 4 hours on a school day or 28 hours during a school week. This new law specifically states, however, that "work performed in agriculture or any occupation that does not offer continuous year-round employment shall be allowable under the provision of this section."

An investigation of the wages and hours worked by women and children, to be made by the Commissioner of Industrial Relations and reported upon to the Governor before September 1, 1948, has been authorized by both Houses of the Vermont Legislature.

The Michigan Senate has passed the revision of that State's child labor law.

New Jersey has enacted as a permanent measure the wartime provision which entitles the children of migrant farm laborers and other children residing temporarily in the State to free public education.

There were large gains in the compulsory education laws also:

(1) in Arkansas, the minimum period of required school attendance, if a school is in session

9 months, has been lengthened from 100 to 170 days; (2) the Michigan Governor approved the bill eliminating the exemption from compulsory school attendance for children under 16 who have completed the 8th grade and who live in districts where no higher grade or transportation is available; (3) the Maryland bill removing the exemption to the 16 year school leaving age for children of 14 and 15, who have completed the elementary school and are employed, has been enacted; (4) in New York the amendments which made permanent the wartime provision requiring a farm work permit for minors of 14 and 15 engaging in agricultural work have been approved by the Governor; the New York amendments to permit the issuance of limited certificates for part-time and vacation work to children of 14 and 15, who, because of physical disability, are not eligible for regular work permits, have also been approved by the Governor; (6) the Vermont bill to include illegally employed minors under the Workmen's Compensation Act and to provide double compensation for their injury or death, was withdrawn from the Senate.

A Tennessee act strengthens the compulsory school attendance law by requiring completion of high school, rather than 8th grade, for exemption from school attendance under 16 years, and by requiring attendance for 180 days or for the full term of the public school the child normally would attend.

A few losses have been reported:

In Massachusetts the attempts to regain emergency wartime powers for the Commissioner of Labor and Industry "necessary for the immediate preservation of the public convenience," has been enacted. The Commissioner, when he finds that an emergency exists, may suspend, until July 1, 1949, "the application or operation of any provision" of the law which regulates, limits or prohibits the employment of women and children. The law also permits the employment of minors of 16 or over (formerly boys 18 or over, girls 21 or over) "in any capacity in manufacturing or mechanical establishments or factories" between 6 A.M. and 11 P.M. (formerly 10 P.M.).

Another backward step was taken by the Massachusetts lawmakers when they enacted the proposal to except the work of fish processing, "when necessary in the judgment of the Commissioner," from the 9 hour day, 48 hour

week, but not to exceed 52 hours a week, for minors under 18 and females.

The Pennsylvania Legislature has passed a breakdown bill which lowers the minimum age from 18 to 16 at which boys may work as pin-setters in bowling alleys.

It is discouraging that the *Labor Information Bulletin* reports that

(the number of minors under 18 found to be employed in violation of the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act jumped 15 percent during the last six months of 1946, compared with the last six months of 1945. Inspection reports by the Wage and Hour Division to the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch of the Division of Labor Standards show that this increase in violations occurred despite a reduction of more than 50 percent in the total minors employed in inspected establishments. The law's child-labor provisions set a basic minimum age of 16 years for general employment and 18 years for occupations covered by hazardous-occupations orders in establishments that produce goods for interstate or foreign commerce.

Of the 20,294 minors in establishments covered by the latest report, 3,825 or nearly 20 percent were illegally employed. (In the corresponding period of 1945, 3,312 or about seven percent of the 47,775 minors in establishments inspected were illegally employed.) The proportion of employed minors under 18 who were employed illegally had almost trebled.

Of the 3,825 minors under 18 found to be illegally employed, 3,390 were children 15 years of age or younger. There were 435 minors 16 or 17 years of age employed in hazardous occupations in violation of orders issued under the act.)

(The number of establishments inspected in which minors were employed was 3,390 in the last 6 months of 1946 compared with 4,894 in the last 6 months of 1945, a decrease of more than 30 percent. But the number in which minors were found to be illegally employed increased from 1,023 to 1,058, a three-percent rise.

Although most of the minor-employing establishments inspected in the last 6 months of 1946 were not only complying with the child-labor provisions of the act but had age certificates on file for every minor in the plant, nearly one-third (1,058 out of 3,390) had some children employed illegally.

FOR EMPLOYMENT OF THE HANDICAPPED

THE National Association for the Employment of the Handicapped was organized in Washington on March 28, with a constitution and bylaws adopted by representatives of seventy-five national civilian organizations. Major General Graves B. Erskine, U.S.M.C., Association president, said he was "astounded at the apathy of most American communities over the plight of the physically handicapped, including war veterans." The *Labor Information Bulletin* makes the following report about the new organization:

The nonprofit, educational organization is a result of the informal cooperating committee organized during the 1946 observance of National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week. On that committee were representatives of major civic, fraternal, religious, professional, medical, veterans, business, labor, and women's organizations. They voted to formalize their assistance to the Federal Government's programs for the handicapped and on December 9, 1946, General Erskine was directed to organize the Association. As Administrator, General Erskine had coordinated Federal, State, and private efforts for the handicapped during "NEPH Week."

The purposes of the new association are:

1. To study, analyze, and evaluate the performance of employed handicapped persons and to make public such information.
2. To inform employers and the public of the great social and economic value of impaired workers when properly prepared and placed on the right job.
3. To promote favorable attitudes on the part of public, employer, labor, civic, welfare and other organizations toward the rehabilitation and suitable, gainful employment of the handicapped by use of all available media, including publication of an official organ, periodicals, books, pamphlets, etc.
4. To foster programs designed to protect the handicapped from exploitation.
5. To stimulate, encourage and assist public and private programs to effect the rehabilitation and suitable employment of increasing numbers of handicapped persons in industry, agriculture, commerce, government and other areas of remunerative employment, and to oppose social and economic discrimination.

6. To inform the handicapped of the public and private services available to prepare them for gainful employment, and to urge them to seek and qualify for such services and employment.

7. To provide leadership and facilities for the membership to plan and act together voluntarily in all lawful matters of common interest.

.... "Complete and full autonomy" is guaranteed member organizations and the necessity for cooperation and coordination of all interested groups and individuals is stressed.

"Community sponsorship, planning and effort constitute the core of successful programs designed to place the handicapped in employment," General Erskine said. "The full utilization of the handicapped in all areas of employment for which each is qualified requires the close coordination of Federal, State and local efforts. The Association will cooperate with all governmental activities which advance the purposes of the Association."

THE I.L.O. IN GENEVA

IT was good news to many of the friends of the I.L.O. that the governing body was to meet in the old home of the I.L.O. in Geneva this spring and that the International Labor Conference would also meet again in Geneva for the first time since the war began in 1939. At the June meeting of the I.L.O. Conference many important subjects were on the agenda, including an economic charter for dependent areas, consisting of five labor treaties concerning nonmetropolitan territories. The United States delegation left with instructions to support the program for the advancement of territorial peoples.

Assistant Secretary Morse, our Government Delegate, said that the position of our Delegation at the forthcoming conference had been well outlined in the recent policy statement issued by the State Department:

The leadership of the United States in establishing the trusteeship system and in promoting the declaration regarding non-self-governing territories places upon this nation a major responsibility for transforming these objectives and declarations into actuality in the future.

The State Department said the United Nations Charter Declaration pledges aid to

territorial peoples "to develop self-government" and to help them establish "free political institutions." It pointed out that the "traditional policies" of this country have "contributed" to the ideal of international concern and responsibility for such peoples.

"In the Philippine Islands the United States has set a good example for the administration of dependent territories," the State Department said. The development of colonial policy looking toward self-government and democracy "has come to assume an increasingly important part in the development of American foreign policy."

"MILITARY JUSTICE"

IN THE June *Review* the article on "Postwar Clemency and the Military Offender" emphasized the importance of this subject. Now the report of the Roberts Committee has made further information available.

The War Department Advisory Board on Clemency, with former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts serving as chairman, reviewed the cases of 28,717 military offenders during its nearly two years of operation. The final report of Under Secretary of War Kenneth C. Royall covered the Board's work from its establishment on June 9, 1945, until its discontinuance on March 31, 1947.

The report states that "sentences have generally been reduced to the minimum levels consistent with maintaining the morale and discipline of the Army. The soldier who commits an offense must pay a penalty and the penalty must be severe enough to deter him and others from repeating the act."

It is pointed out that there have been no substantial changes in policies established early in the postwar clemency program and that experience has proved the soundness of the standards originally adopted. The report added that a general amnesty and release from confinement of offenders at the end of hostilities had been avoided and stated that "such a wholesale release would have been unfair to the great body of soldiers who fulfilled their obligations with honor and would

have been harmful to the discipline and morale of the Army in the future."

Under-Secretary Royall said that the Roberts Board clemency program was without parallel in the fields of civil or military justice and commented on the particularly fine qualifications of the men who served on the Board and subsidiary boards from time to time.

He pointed out that not only had excessive sentences been reduced and sentences for similar offenses and offenders equalized but that, in addition, a great many men had been restored to duty with an opportunity to earn an honorable discharge.

The effects of the clemency program are reflected in the steady decline of the military prisoner population, which has fallen from a high of 34,766 in October, 1945, to 14,228 as of April 30, 1947, including 10,906 who committed their offenses prior to V-J Day in August, 1945. This is less than one man in each 1,000 who served during the war period. But, of course, the number is still very large.

Of the 34,766 prisoners confined in October, 1945, over 68 per cent have been unconditionally released. Many others are on home parole. During the recent emergency and up to December 31, 1946, approximately 84,000 men were sentenced to confinement by general court-martial. By that date, approximately 42,000 had been restored to duty with an opportunity to earn an honorable discharge and 26,000 released through clemency, parole, and expiration of sentence.

Of the pre-V-J Day offenders held in confinement as of April 30, 1947, a total of 41 per cent was convicted of offenses recognized as crime in civil courts, while the remaining 59 per cent were adjudged guilty of purely military offenses. Further, of the total now confined for military offenses committed during the same period, less than one-fourth are overseas cases.

During the peak of its operations in January, 1946, the Board functioned with the assistance of four special boards. With the progressive reduction in the case load, all

but one of the special boards now have been dissolved. The remaining group, now constituted as a combination Clemency and Parole Board, will continue to function under policies and precedents of the Roberts Board which have been approved by the Under Secretary.

A "broad revision" of the military laws relating to court-martial procedures to bring these more into line with civil-court practices has been made the subject of an intensive study by the House Committee on Armed Services, although it seems probable nothing will be done in the near future. The *New York Times* report indicated that within a year some changes would be made.

In general, the sentiment of the War Department, as shown by witnesses headed by Under Secretary Kenneth C. Royall, has been accepted as favorable to many of the proposed changes. The Navy has not yet forwarded a program of amendment.

The reform procedure is aimed at correcting four alleged abuses under the current court-martial system, as these were noted by Mr. Royall:

1. Alleged discrimination against enlisted men as compared with officers, particularly in the absence of enlisted men from membership on the trial courts.
2. Excessive initial sentences.
3. Undue influence over or control of court-martial by officers appointing them.
4. Insufficient use of legally trained officers.

Each of the bills under consideration approaches these problems differently, but on the whole students of them agree that the same objectives are in each, particularly in proposals that enlisted men be authorized to serve on courts-martial trying enlisted men.

"SHELTERED WORKSHOP" ACTIVITY INCREASING

HANDICAPPED workers who were drafted into industry during the war years even before the completion of their training in 'sheltered workshops' are now finding it difficult to hold their jobs," according to the *Labor Information Bulletin*, "with the result that many are being forced to return to the

charitable, nonprofit workshops to complete their training."

This was reported to the administrator of the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor by leaders in the field of rehabilitation of handicapped workers following a meeting in Washington. Spokesman for the group was the director of the Institute for the Crippled and Disabled, New York, who is chairman of the Division's Advisory Committee on Sheltered Workshops. He was appointed in 1939 to aid the Division in application of the exemption provisions of the Wage and Hour Law to handicapped workers employed and training in charitable workshops throughout the nation.

The director of the Institute reported that "the cause of rehabilitation had been materially advanced under the Wage and Hour Law." "However," he said, "with the increased pressure on workshops resulting from the return of some handicapped workers who left during the war years, as well as wartime-injured civilians and veterans, greater vigilance by the Division now is necessary to guarantee the safeguards the Wage and Hour Law provides for labor and management."

BOOTLEGGING OF BABIES IN NEW YORK

SOCIAL workers will be interested in the account of the New York City study of adoptions as given in the *New York Times*. The report, which was prepared as a requirement for the degree at the New York School of Social Work, was based on a study of nine voluntary and five municipal hospitals and was made under the auspices of the United Hospital Fund of New York. The *Times* said that because of "the growing public awareness of the traffic in babies, some physicians have increasingly taken unwed prospective mothers to small private or proprietary hospitals where 'they have no interference in their activities.'"

Lawyers specializing in adoption practice are said to be sometimes in such haste to

make a binding contract that they "force their way into a patient's room when the physical condition of the mother does not warrant it." The *Times* noted that lawyers and physicians were said to be "working together and also working closely with hospital personnel to arrange quick voluntary adoption before the hospital's medical social service worker or the slow-moving authorized adoption agencies" were prepared to act. It was reported that statements had come from reliable sources indicating that "three groups of physicians were operating in the city on a team basis—in Brooklyn, mid-Manhattan, and the Bronx—to facilitate and cloak their activities."

The report, which was written more than a year ago and was circulated among hospital administrators and lay and professional persons interested in medical social work and irregularities in adoption, was finally made available last June to all newspapers. While hospitals have improved conditions, the report is still believed to present an essentially accurate picture:

The data placed great stress on the danger to foster parents and to the child of adoptions not arranged through the authorized adoption agencies, especially those arranged in haste and surreptitiously. Lack of proper investigation of the child and its background and of the proposed future home and adoptive parents often results in unfortunate adoptions and disturbed families, it was said.

The report pointed out that the authorized agencies handle only about one-third of the adoptions in the city, two-thirds being on a voluntary basis. It declared that "some factors contributing to the perpetuation of free-lance adoption come from the limitations of the authorized agency itself; namely, long waiting lists which discourage adoptive parents who seek children through underground methods; inadequate education of the public and professional groups to good adoption standards, and the importance of using their services, and conversely to the damage frequently resulting from transactions promoted by commercial, non-professional agencies and unscrupulous individuals whose interest is financial gain."

A revision of the state law governing adoptions to provide that adoption arrangements

should be made through authorized agencies only, was recommended. Advertising for children, done by some lawyers, should also be made illegal, the report said.

The report recommended that the State Department of Social Welfare should closely supervise child-placing agencies and that the agencies should adjust their policies and practices to meet the current situation more adequately. Closer co-operation in case work between all interested groups was recommended, as well as education in a sound adoption program for doctors, lawyers, judges, social workers, hospital personnel, and the public. Professional societies should deal strictly with members engaged in irregular adoption practices.

Emphasis was laid on the fact that adoption is a specialized social service in the child welfare field. But the report showed that some physicians, lawyers, and clergymen arranged occasional adoptions for personal reasons but lacked the knowledge to do this work properly. Other physicians and lawyers, however, were said to engage in bootleg adoptions for financial gain.

A number of cases of irregularity in adoption illustrating various abuses were listed in the report. One told of an 18-year-old farm girl married to a soldier overseas who had become involved with her husband's best friend and who wanted to escape from her community and family. An avid reader of a popular magazine, "she wrote of her dilemma, and was assisted to come to this city," the report said. After arriving she was housed with other girls in the same predicament and was seen by a lawyer who advised her of the "terms of releasing her child, and also told her 'to keep her mouth shut' about him." And when it was time for the girl to go to the hospital, "the outside woman physician literally forced her way into the hospital. The administrator, the medical social workers and the doctors, all tried to prevent placement procedures, but were unable to do anything since papers of consent to adopt had already been drawn up and signed."

Another case was that of a 23-year-old college graduate who came to New York to have her child after writing to a "woman physician who enjoys quite a reputation in counseling youth." In the hospital the young mother, in

talking with the medical social worker, recognized the importance of placing her child through an authorized agency. Several agencies were unable to help at the time and before another contact was established, "the woman doctor, learning of the hospital worker's role, became furious with the department worker" and "openly told the social worker that the transaction, which involved money, had already been drawn up between lawyers, and that the girl could not back out at this point." The girl had to accede.

This important report should be made available to large numbers of child welfare workers.

FAREWELL TO U.N.R.R.A.

THE U.N.R.R.A. Missions in Europe were closed officially on June 30, and the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization assumed the responsibility for the future of refugees and displaced persons which had previously been carried by U.N.R.R.A. and by the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees. As we go to press, twenty nations have signed the constitution of I.R.O. and the agreement on interim measures, and 78.6 per cent of the I.R.O. operational budget has been subscribed. The United Nations *Weekly Bulletin* contains the following report:

With the closing of all U.N.R.R.A. Missions in Europe on June 30, 1947, Director-General Lowell W. Rooks has announced that the major operations of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration are now virtually completed. Henceforth, U.N.R.R.A. will concentrate upon fulfilling its Far Eastern program, which could not get fully under way until after the surrender of Japan.

In a statement reviewing the activities and accomplishments of the first organization to be established by United Nations countries, General Rooks emphasized that U.N.R.R.A. was compelled to concentrate primarily upon immediate relief assistance, although it made a substantial contribution to the agricultural and industrial rehabilitation of needy countries. As a result, the members of the United Nations are today confronted with many pressing problems of economic recovery.

The fact, however, that much still remains to be done should not minimize the accomplishments of U.N.R.R.A., stated Director-General Rooks. "Had its life-giving supplies not been available to tide war-ravaged nations over the critical period immediately following the war, it is unlikely that there would exist today that degree of stability which provides the base for further action."

U.N.R.R.A. was the first of the great international organizations established to cope with the problems resulting from the Second World

European countries, U.N.R.R.A. faced serious difficulties of transport and of supply

"As transportation became available," General Rooks pointed out, "the trickle of supplies which started in 1945 swelled into a life-giving stream. By the close of its operations, U.N.R.R.A. will have delivered nearly \$3,000,000,000 worth of supplies—in volume, 25,000,000 long tons—to 17 different countries. This is about three times the value of relief provided after World War I and represents the largest peacetime shipping operation in world history."

MR. LOW'S VIEW OF UNRRA'S FATE



New York Times

War, stated General Rooks. "It was called upon to alleviate suffering resulting from war destruction on an unprecedented scale—a task so tremendous and complex that it could not be undertaken by any individual government, no matter how abundant its resources."

In its early operations, U.N.R.R.A. moved into liberated areas immediately behind—and at the request of—the armies. During the first half of 1945, when it began to take over operational responsibilities in a growing number of

Food constituted the bulk of these supplies. Physical devastation, manpower shortages, and droughts which affected the first postwar harvests, forced U.N.R.R.A. to revise its plans and put most of its resources into food and other expendable supplies. This entailed some sacrifice of longer-range objectives, General Rooks said, "but it saved lives, and lives come first."

However, U.N.R.R.A. was still able to use about \$1,000,000,000 to further its rehabilitation programs.

Some \$450,000,000 went to supplies essential to vital production and distribution—trucks, tools, mining equipment, water pipe, power generators, locomotives, building-repair equipment, and road and other machinery. "These supplies," observed General Rooks, "permitted the receiving countries to make a good start in the direction of producing the goods their people needed. Equally important, they helped make it possible to move supplies to the people who needed them."

About \$200,000,000 were expended for agricultural equipment—seed, fertilizer, agricultural implements, draft animals, and tractors. With draft power decimated by the war, and with agricultural economies shattered, U.N.R.R.A.'s agricultural rehabilitation program has represented, in the words of General Rooks, "a first step—and it is hoped a long step—in the direction of increased self-sufficiency in food production. In the face of critical recurrent world shortages of food, any measures by which production can be increased in deficit areas are of the highest importance in staving off starvation."

The world has succeeded in escaping the epidemics which were the aftermath of the First World War, due mainly to the precautionary measures adopted by the military and by governments, and due also to the effectiveness of U.N.R.R.A.'s medical and epidemic control programs. When its Far Eastern operations are completed, U.N.R.R.A. will have spent over \$160,000,000 for medical supplies and drugs, varying from sulphadiazine pills and penicillin to surgical equipment and airplanes for spraying malarial swamps in Greece. According to U.N.R.R.A.'s Director-General, typhus has been avoided and malaria arrested in Europe, with the latter disease in some areas actually reduced to its lowest incidence in modern history.

However, tuberculosis is rampant in Europe, while hunger edema, anemia, and vitamin deficiency diseases have been on the increase. These stem from malnutrition and poor living conditions, and could only be alleviated, but not eliminated, through the limited medical assistance made available by U.N.R.R.A.

In addition to its supply operations, U.N.R.R.A. has assisted in the repatriation of some 7,000,000 displaced persons wishing to return to their homelands. For those persons who have not yet returned, or do not wish to return, to their homelands, U.N.R.R.A. administered assembly centres and provided care essential to

preserve their health, morale, and occupational skills. . . .

General Rooks then turned to the problems confronting the United Nations upon the termination of U.N.R.R.A. He emphasized that even with U.N.R.R.A. assistance actual starvation was avoided only by the narrowest of margins.

"The essential now is speed," warned General Rooks, "since with the cessation of U.N.R.R.A. shipments, no practical means of help are available until these other measures actually begin to pick up the slack. In the meantime, the threat of hunger, and the possibility of general economic collapse, remain before us. Europe and the Far East still face deficits for 1947, and the most hopeful estimates of crops this year show prospective dietary standards far from adequate."

U.N.R.R.A. was conceived only as a short-term organization. Although it could not have been expected to solve the problems essential for permanent economic recovery, it succeeded in holding the line against starvation and economic collapse. Its operations provided subsistence during the period of immediate crisis and represented the first steps toward recovery.

"U.N.R.R.A. countries today are unquestionably far better off than they were at the close of hostilities," the Director-General stated. "Some of them, for example, Czechoslovakia, have made truly remarkable strides, although serious need still exists. With effective continued measures, internally and inter-governmentally, recovery from the devastation of war can proceed from the base created by U.N.R.R.A."

However, redoubled efforts were now necessary to retain and augment the benefits gained by U.N.R.R.A., warned General Rooks. A special United Nations Technical Committee has estimated the foreign exchange deficits of eight European countries at \$583,000,000 just to meet the minimum subsistence imports for 1947; imports necessary to prevent collapse in countries hardest hit by the war.

General Rooks spoke of various sources of help which might be tapped. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development should offer hope for long-range recovery once it reached full-scale operations. Various assistance programs undertaken through the United Nations, or unilaterally by various nations which have been members of U.N.R.R.A.,

would have to help bridge the gap as quickly as they came into operation. . . .

Finally, General Rooks said, U.N.R.R.A. has proved to the world that an operating agency depending upon international organization can function efficiently and effectively. "Its staff has been made up of men and women from 40 different countries, speaking almost as many different tongues; and some of them gave their lives in the service of U.N.R.R.A., which has not been devoid of hazards. In procuring supplies, it has dealt in most of the world's currencies and has shipped these supplies to and from all quarters of the globe. Yet it has functioned effectively, honestly, fairly, and in absolute political neutrality."

THE U.N. AND CHILD WELFARE

THE Temporary Social Welfare Committee, concluding its third session at Lake Success, July 8, decided that there was not sufficient justification for creating a subcommission on child welfare as a new subordinate body. The *United Nations Weekly Bulletin* (July 15, 1947) reports the action of the Committee, which was set up by the Social Commission in February, 1947, to consider whether it would be desirable to constitute a permanent subcommission on child welfare, "to develop criteria for use in reviewing requests from the various governments for advisory welfare services, and to make recommendations for a general long-term program of United Nations activities in the social field, including the question of staff training." The Temporary Social Welfare Commission decided that a subcommission on child welfare would exercise certain powers of co-ordination "which properly lie within the scope of the Economic and Social Council and its Social Commission." Another factor in the decision was that the International Children's Emergency Fund is now beginning operations and should provide in part for the need of children in the war-devastated countries.

The report from the *Weekly Bulletin* of a further proposal will be of interest to our readers:

As an alternative, the Committee considered a proposal submitted by the Rapporteur, Alice

Brunn (DENMARK), and supported by the Chairman, Katharine F. Lenroot (U.S.A.), that instead of a Sub-Commission on Child Welfare there should be created a social welfare committee as the best method of providing for child welfare and related problems.

P. A. C. Alexander (UNITED KINGDOM), in submitting a second alternate proposal, said that, as the problem was only one of co-ordination of plans and activities, it was not necessary to set up a social welfare committee. He suggested that co-ordination and planning could be achieved through (1) liaison between the Secretariat and the specialized agencies; (2) high-level representation at each others' meetings by representatives of the agencies, the Social Commission, and the Economic and Social Council; and (3) the progressive development of budgetary and financial co-operation between the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

By a majority of those voting it was decided not to recommend the establishment of a social welfare committee. The United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslav delegates voted against its establishment, and Denmark and U.S.A. in favor. Colombia and Greece abstained from voting.

Although no formal vote was taken on Mr. Alexander's proposal, delegates emphasized the need for full co-operation and planning in the social welfare field.

To avoid overlapping between the operations of specialized agencies, the Committee was of the opinion that a unified social welfare program should be initiated by the Social Commission. It was suggested that the Secretary-General ask the specialized agencies to furnish detailed information on their projects involving social welfare functions. . . .

In the course of its sessions, the Committee also reviewed the progress reports of the Secretariat on the administration of its advisory welfare services. It noted the interest shown by the governments as demonstrated by their requests for services.

The Committee recommended that the international training program that may be undertaken in social welfare by the United Nations should include (1) consultative service to governments on their request in establishing or restoring national training programs; (2) opportunities for study of social welfare administration abroad for adequately experienced persons, in agreement in each case with the governments

concerned; and (3) provision of professional literature.

Now that the Committee has fulfilled its directive from the Social Commission, and made its recommendations, it will not meet again unless specifically convened for a definite purpose.

THE END OF E.M.I.C.

LIQUIDATION of the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care program has been directed by Congress in its appropriation for 1947-48 to the United States Children's Bureau, but the work has been drawing to a close for some time. The great E.M.I.C. program, under which maternity care was provided for servicemen's wives and medical, hospital, and nursing care for their infants throughout the first year of life, is at last in the process of winding up after more than four years of service. The books will not be finally closed, however, for at least another twenty-one months, for the full term of care is still to be provided for all wives and infants now receiving care and for all those eligible for care as of June 30.

The United States Children's Bureau, which administered the program, has reported that 1,421,000 cases were completed or approved for care from March, 1943, to July, 1947. Wives and infants of men in the four lowest pay grades in the armed services and of aviation cadets have been eligible for the care provided under E.M.I.C. The programs have been administered by state health departments under plans approved by the Children's Bureau.

Cases accepted for care under the program dropped to an average of 9,300 a month in 1947 in comparison with 47,000 during the peak month of the war period. Of the current average monthly cases authorized, 5,500 are for maternity care, the remainder being for the care of infants. From the beginning of the program to June 30, 1947, infants for whom care has been authorized totaled about 217,300, and maternity cases totaled over 1,203,500.

Congress, in directing the program's liquidation, specifically continued the program for all wives and infants for whom care is

already authorized and also brought under the program any serviceman's wife and child if she was pregnant June 30, 1947, even though application had not been made before that time. She can apply for and receive for herself and infant the full services provided for under the E.M.I.C. program until the child is one year of age. Applications can be made to her own physician or to the local or state health department.

Starting out as an emergency measure, this program turned out to be the largest public medical care program for mothers and children ever undertaken in this country. At the height of the program one out of every seven babies born in the United States was born under the E.M.I.C. program. Over forty-eight thousand doctors in private practice and hospitals all over the country were co-operating in the E.M.I.C. program in the fiscal year 1945. Even under wartime difficulties an all-time record was set for hospital births in this country. More than ninety-two out of one hundred babies born under the program in 1945 were born in hospitals. Of all babies born in the United States that year only seventy-nine out of one hundred were born in hospitals, and even that proportion was high in comparison with the pre-war number. Many of the mothers who were delivered in hospitals under the E.M.I.C. program, the Children's Bureau pointed out, were from population groups that ordinarily had their babies at home and sometimes had not even a doctor but only an untrained midwife, in attendance.

By July 1 of the current year over \$124,900,000 had been allotted to the states to cover the cost of the program. For the two fiscal years 1947-48 and 1948-49, Congress has appropriated another \$3,000,000, to be used in liquidating the program. Of the total amount disbursed by the states up to the present time, hospitals have received approximately \$63,500,000; doctor bills have totaled \$50,500,000.

Some measure of the attitude of the servicemen and their wives toward this emergency wartime program is shown in the let-

ter files of every state health department. For example, a New York State G.I. whose wife and twin babies required expensive and prolonged medical and hospital care that cost a total of \$1,744.49 wrote this letter:

It makes me sick to think of all the debts and obligations that would have piled up against me that were incurred during my wife's illness. I don't know of any other agency so completely humanitarian in purpose. I assure you, Dr. ———, the day I was informed your agency would assume all medical and hospital costs I felt like living again.

There must be countless other servicemen equally distressed that you have helped and that must feel exactly as I do. I hope and pray they won't ever forget, so that we can show our appreciation by supporting you in your great work.

You and your agency have our (my wife's and the twins included) everlasting gratitude for your great help in our time of need.

A Nevada sergeant told a public health nurse:

I thought it [care under the E.M.I.C. program] might be charity or something and it would be like my wife was on relief. But it wasn't and she got good care. It sure was a load off my mind. You see, I couldn't be there and I wanted things to be all right and they were. It sure is a wonderful thing for us.

Wives who have received care have been equally expressive. One from Delaware wrote to her state health department: "... I just want you to know I appreciate this help, when my husband cannot be here to take care of me." Another from New York said: "It is very gratifying to know that as long as my husband is passing up a good job to serve his country for a smaller salary, the E.M.I.C. is there to help shoulder some of our responsibility. Thank you so much."

This has been a great program—one of the most important of the social welfare programs of the war years—and the United States Children's Bureau and Dr. Martha Eliot are to be congratulated on its success.

NATIONAL MENTAL HEALTH PROGRAM

THE national mental health program, which was authorized by Congress in 1946 and for which Congress before adjournment provided an appropriation of \$7,500,000, has finally become operative.

The program under the general supervision of the United States Public Health Service provides for three major fields: (1) increased research into problems of mental health; (2) increased training of urgently needed personnel; and (3) increased support and stimulation of state efforts to develop adequate mental health programs, particularly in the field of prevention and early treatment.

Approximately \$400,000 will be spent during the fiscal year 1948 for research. Grants-in-aid are provided to universities, hospitals, laboratories, and other public and private institutions and to qualified individuals. With these grants, twenty-five research projects will be conducted in such fields as biochemistry, neurophysiology, delinquency, child psychology, alcoholism, psychosomatic medicine, psychotherapy, shock therapy. The fund also provides research fellowships in fields related to mental health, of which fourteen have been awarded.

Over \$1,000,000 will be spent for grants to public and other nonprofit institutions for the development and improvement of facilities for training mental health personnel in the field of psychiatry, in clinical psychology, psychiatric social work, and psychiatric nursing. This fund will also provide for training stipends for seventy graduate students in psychiatry, forty-one in clinical psychology, forty in social work, and fifty-eight in psychiatric nursing.

The psychiatric social work grants have been allotted to the following institutions—University of California, School of Social Welfare; University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration; University of Minnesota, School of Social Work; New York School of Social Work, Columbia Uni-

versity; Pennsylvania School of Social Work, University of Pennsylvania; University of Pittsburgh, School of Applied Social Sciences; Smith College, School for Social Work; Tulane University, School of Social Work; and the University of Louisville, Kent School of Social Work.

The New York School of Social Work, the University of Pittsburgh School, and the Pennsylvania School of Social Work will give advanced (third year) graduate training under the grants program for the training of teachers in psychiatric social work, supervisors, and research and administrative personnel.

The sum of \$3,000,000 is appropriated for grants-in-aid to states for local mental health programs. The purpose of the grants to state programs is the establishment by the states of one outpatient mental health clinic for each one hundred thousand of the population and provision of services to sparsely settled and rural areas through traveling clinics. Although this goal is not immediately attainable due to the shortage of personnel, it is expected that it will eventually prove to be quite conservative in terms of the need. State programs and budgets are now being received, and grants are being allocated as soon as the plans are reviewed and approved. In addition to the foregoing activities, it is planned to establish demonstration clinics operated by the Public Health Service, one of which will be located in the vicinity of the District of Columbia.

The establishment of in-service training programs and training institutes for general practitioners is also planned in several states. Personnel will be loaned to the states on request to aid with their local programs.

The remainder of the funds appropriated will be used for field studies in mental hygiene and the operation of the two United States Public Health Service hospitals for drug addicts and the mentally ill at Lexington, Kentucky, and Fort Worth, Texas.

In addition to appropriations to the Public Health Service for mental health, the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, passed by both houses and now in joint con-

ference as we go to press, provides \$850,000 for the purchase of a site and the drawing-up of plans and specifications for a National Institute of Mental Health. This Institute, which will be located in the vicinity of the District of Columbia, will carry on coordinated studies in fields which bear upon the problems of mental health and will include a hospital for clinical observation.

NOTES FROM THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

AMONG the San Francisco meetings last April were those of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. The A.A.S.S.W. sponsored a round table on curriculum for faculty members and two meetings on "The Proposed Comprehensive Study of Social Work Education" and on "Preprofessional Education for Social Work."

The Association reports that its forty-nine member-schools have approximately 350 full-time faculty members, including deans and directors. Enrolled in these schools on November 1, 1946, were 3,695 full-time graduate students, 2,500 part-time students, and 1,500 preprofessional students.

During the period covered by the Association's report, four additional state universities instituted graduate programs in social work and expect to apply for membership as soon as they have been in operation for a year. At least two others have made plans to open schools of social work in the fall of 1947. Inquiries from seven other universities indicate that there will probably be four or five universities opening new schools of social work this fall.

The Association reports that it has reinstituted the plan, interrupted by the war, of having a representative of the Accrediting Committee participate with the executive secretary in making the studies of schools applying for membership. During the past year the following schools have been reviewed: University of Wisconsin—admitted to provisional membership as a two-year

school; University of Puerto Rico—readmitted to full membership as a two-year school; University of British Columbia—transferred from provisional membership as a one-year school to full membership as a two-year school.

The A.A.S.S.W. board of directors at a meeting in May voted to accept for study the applications of the University of Missouri as a one-year school, the University of Kansas as a two-year school, and the University of Oklahoma for transfer from full membership as a one-year school to full membership as a two-year school.

Further planning is reported to be in progress for a periodic review of all member-schools, which would involve the compilation of written data by the school annually and for a complete review, on campus, of the school's program once in five years. The Accrediting Committee is also working on further revision of the accrediting procedure and standards in order to make the accrediting process more effective.

A national committee, with subcommittees on case work, group work, and research and a joint committee with the Association for the study of community organization, is at work on the collection, editing, and distribution of teaching materials. Routines have been set up and are being maintained to channel from the federal and national agencies and other sources policy statements, case records, bibliographies, monographs, and other useful materials to the school faculties. An exhibit of such materials will be available at the Association's national and regional meetings and at other gatherings where they are useful.

The Association will participate in a project being carried on by the Russell Sage Foundation on the development of reference materials on social work and professional education for use with visitors and correspondents from abroad. There has been a rapid development of schools of social work in all parts of the world, and the schools look to the A.A.S.S.W. for some help in the development of their programs. It is the hope of Dr. Donald Howard of the Sage

Foundation that it may be possible to make available both published and unpublished materials which can be sent to schools of social work and other training agencies in other countries and also may be available to foreign students studying in schools of social work here.

Another suggestion which has been put forward is that this kind of material may be available for distribution to foreign members of the International Conference of Social Work to be held in 1948.

The Association hopes through a newly established committee to be able to give advice and information to persons interested in teaching. Certain indirect recruiting efforts are under way, and direct recruiting of teaching personnel is in prospect but will be designed to interest only persons who can qualify for teaching positions. An actual placement service will probably not be attempted, but candidates will be asked to write directly to schools in which they are interested and which are known, to the Association office, as having suitable vacancies.

Of the three hundred and fifty full-time teaching positions in the schools, the deans and directors were trying this spring to fill about fifty of them for the coming academic year. In addition, at one time this spring, eight of the forty-nine schools were seeking a dean or director for the coming year.

The A.A.S.S.W. also has announced that as a result of a letter of invitation from Dr. René Sand, president of the International Committee of Schools of Social Work, the relationship with the International Committee is renewed. It is hoped that there may be a meeting of the International Committee in Atlantic City in 1948 at the time of the other conferences.

The New York School of Social Work announces the retirement of Dean Walter W. Pettit on September 30. Margaret Leal has been made acting director. Writing editorially of Dean Pettit's retirement, the *New York Times* said:

An authority on national and international work, Dr. Pettit joined the faculty as an instruc-

tor in 1915 . . . and in 1939 he succeeded Porter R. Lee, who died in that year.

Several times Dean Pettit was called upon to represent the United States Government on technical assignments here and abroad. Two years ago he was named by the State Department as United States delegate in Santiago, Chile, at the Pan-American Conference on Social Work. In 1916-17 he served as special assistant in relief work with the American embassy in Petrograd and in the following year was sent to Paris to join the American Commission To Negotiate Peace.

In 1932-33 Dr. Pettit was executive director of the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration of New York State.

One year after he became dean of the New York School of Social Work it affiliated with Columbia University and since has granted the degree of Master of Science. The school, first to offer professional training in social work, was founded in 1898. It is a division of the Community Service Society.

Morris Hadley, chairman of the school's board of trustees, paid tribute to the retiring dean as "a friend of social workers the world over," and added:

"The entire profession has been enriched by Dean Pettit's contributions over the years. Wherever social work is practiced he will be remembered as a friendly counselor of students, an outstanding teacher and a wise administrator. Although in a technical sense he has reached retirement age, we are confident he will continue to exert vigorous leadership in the field of the human and social sciences for years to come."

During Dr. Pettit's administration, which has seen the school enrollment increase more than 50 per cent, he made it a practice to become personally acquainted with every student in training.

A professor of community organization, Dr. Pettit long has advocated an international student exchange. He is the present chairman of the Committee on International Exchange of Social Workers.

Returning from a tour of several South American countries in 1945, Dr. Pettit urged formation of a social welfare unit under the auspices of the United Nations. He commented that "some of the Latin-American nations have made such noteworthy advances in public welfare that the rest of the world would profit from their experience." . . .

John Cronin, formerly dean of the Kent School of Social Work in Louisville, has been appointed dean of the School of Social Work of the University of Connecticut. Dean Cronin will be succeeded at Louisville by Dr. Howell V. Williams, of the faculty of the University of Southern California Graduate School of Social Work and research associate in the Delinquency Control Institute there, who has had experience with the United States Children's Bureau and the United States Bureau of Prisons.

The Graduate School of Social Work of the University of Southern California has been added to the list of schools which have a specialization in psychiatric social work that is approved by the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers. Miss Rose Green is the faculty member in charge of this field.

Katharine Handley, formerly of the University of Illinois, has been appointed director of the School of Social Work at the University of Hawaii.

The University of Toronto School of Social Work has announced two new degrees. To students entering with a B.A. degree, Bachelor of Social Work will be given for one year of study and Master of Social Work for those who stay a second year and complete a piece of research. New Toronto appointments include Dr. Malcolm C. Taylor to teach courses in public administration and in public medical care. Miss Opal Boynton, formerly of the Y.W.C.A., has been appointed lecturer in group work.

A new curriculum in correctional administration is announced at the University of Notre Dame with Hugh P. O'Brien, of Dannemora, New York, of the New York State Division of Parole, as director. The curriculum, which will provide for one year of training at Notre Dame to be followed by a six months' internship in an approved correctional agency or institution leading to the Master's degree, will train students only for the correctional field rather than general social work but will prepare college graduates for probation, parole, and correctional institution service,

and also for positions in the field of crime prevention.

The National Catholic School of Social Service of Washington, D.C., which has been providing graduate training in social work for young women since 1921, has been merged with the School of Social Work of the Catholic University of America and will hereafter be operated under the official name of the National Catholic School of Social Service of the Catholic University. The Very Rev. Msgr. John J. McCafferty, of New York City, will serve as dean of the unified school. Ordained in 1930, Monsignor McCafferty took his Master's degree at the Catholic University and in 1936 graduated from the New York School of Social Work.

The American Association of Medical Social Workers has announced that the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis has granted a fund with which to establish scholarships for the training of medical social workers. It is hoped that some of the scholarships may be awarded by the beginning of the academic year 1947-48. Information concerning the terms of the grants and application forms may be obtained by writing the Foundation at 120 Broadway, New York City.

The Veterans Administration has announced that it has established eighty paid field work placements in the fields of medical and psychiatric social work.

The Editorial Advisory Committee of the *Journal of Social Casework* is sponsoring a drive for popular articles, which is intended to make available to a wide public the information that social work has found valid and useful in individual or group application. The articles should present material about what social work *knows*—and not what it does or how it does it. Again the promotion of understanding and appreciation of social work should be an indirect result of this project. Articles should not describe the purpose or operation of an agency or illustrate case-work techniques.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

PRECEDING the National Conference of Social Work, the Delegate Conference of the American Association of Social Workers was held in San Francisco with sixty chapters sending a total of one hundred and fifty delegates. There were reports from the retiring president, Paul L. Benjamin, and from various national committees, and there was an address by Runo Arne on the important California experience with the statutory registration of social workers. New officers elected included Donald S. Howard, director of the Department of Social Work Administration of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, who was elected president for the next two years in the national balloting held during April and May; Frank Z. Glick, director of the Graduate School of Social Work, University of Nebraska, first vice-president; Robert W. Beasley, regional director of the Social Security Administration, Chicago, second vice-president; Harriet L. Tynes, executive director of the Children's Home Society of North Carolina, third vice-president; Jean Kallenberg, director of Information Service, Family Service Association of America, secretary; Malcolm S. Nichols, general secretary of the Family Society of Boston, treasurer.

The following National Board members were elected: Nelson C. Jackson, Georgia; Mrs. Savilla Millis Simons, Washington, D.C.; Ernest F. Witte, California; W. T. McCullough, Cleveland; and Dorothy Hankins, Philadelphia.

The Conference adopted policy statements on international welfare measures and on the regulation of social work practice. Instructions were adopted for further national committee work on appeal procedures for violation of personnel practices. A national committee was authorized to prepare a set of principles relating to basic human rights for consideration at the 1948 Delegate Conference.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, 1947

AT THE important and successful meeting of the N.C.S.W. in San Francisco last spring an important announcement was made regarding the 1948 meeting, which will be the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the National Conference. It was necessary to schedule the meeting early again, as no later dates were available, and the meeting will be held in Atlantic City, April 17-23. A joint meeting with the International Conference of Social Work is scheduled, but details are not available as we go to press.

Atlantic City has been a favorite Conference meeting place, and, with the added attraction of the International Conference, a large attendance is expected. Conference Headquarters will be located in the Auditorium as usual.

New officers elected at San Francisco include Dean Leonard W. Mayo of the Western Reserve School of Applied Social Sciences, as president; three vice-presidents: Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad, of Nashville, Tennessee; Professor Wayne McMillen, of the University of Chicago; Neva R. Dear-dorff, of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York; treasurer, Arch Mandel, New York City; general secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio.

New members of the executive committee include Frederick H. Allen, M.D., Philadelphia; Mary E. Austin, Washington, D.C.; Marion Hathway, Pittsburgh; Faith Jefferson Jones, Hampton, Virginia; Russell H. Kurtz, New York; Malcolm S. Nichols, Boston; and Margaret D. Yates, Dallas. New section chairmen include Florence Hollis, New York, social case work; Mildred Arnold, Washington, D.C., child care; A. G. Fraser, Philadelphia, delinquency; Lucia J. Bing, Cleveland, the aged; Dorothea Sullivan, Washington, D.C., social group work; Ralph H. Blanchard, New York, community organization and planning; Paul V. Benner, Topeka, public welfare; Eleanor Cockerill, Pittsburgh, health; Louis de Boer, Chicago, mental health; Rose McHugh, Washington,

D.C., industrial and economic problems; Emery A. Brownell, Rochester, N.Y., methods of social action; Frederick I. Daniels, Brooklyn, N.Y., administration.

IN MEMORIAM

JACOB KEPECS, 1882-1947

JACOB KEPECS had given leadership in social welfare work in this country for more than thirty years, and his sudden death from a heart attack last July has meant a great loss to work for children. At the time of his death he was president of the Child Welfare League of America and he had long served on its board and on the boards of other children's agencies and state and national committees and commissions that were concerned with children's work. For more than a decade he had been on the faculty of the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration, giving a course in child-placing.

Born in Czechoslovakia and educated in Germany, Jacob Kepecs came to this country in 1906. He attended New York University, where he received the B.S. degree, and he then attended the New York School of Social Work. After some experience in Philadelphia and New York, he came to Chicago in 1924 as superintendent of the Jewish Home Finding Society, which later was consolidated with the services of several Jewish agencies into the Jewish Children's Bureau, of which he became executive director.

But Jacob Kepecs was interested in all children and children's agencies—in Chicago and in other cities and states. He was one of the very few interested in the care of Negro children; and, when the local private children's agencies in Chicago would not take any more Negro children, he helped to organize a special committee to provide foster-care for this group. As the work of this committee developed with the help of Julius Rosenwald, Jacob Kepecs was again one of a small group to see the need of a good pub-

lic children's agency; and out of the old committee he was one of the leaders who succeeded in getting a children's division made a part of the Chicago relief administration, which became the Children's Division of the Chicago Department of Welfare. He was for a time chairman and always a faithful hard-working member of the committee that helped this public agency for children to do excellent work.

He was an active member of the White House Conference of 1930 and a vice-president of the White House Conference of 1940. He was a valued member of the Committee on Children's Work of the National Conference of Social Work and attended the International Conference in Frankfurt in 1932 and in London in 1936. He was also an active member of the American Association of Social Workers.

Active in the Illinois State Conference, he was in demand as a speaker at other state conferences. He was a member of a great many Chicago and Illinois child welfare and public welfare boards and committees. His leadership was always constructive, never routine. He wanted every child to have the best possible chance for a useful and successful life, and he encouraged child welfare workers and children's agencies to work toward this end.

HELEN GREGORY MACGILL 1866-1947

JUDGE HELEN GREGORY MACGILL was well known to many social workers in Chicago, where she had made her home with her daughter after her retirement. She was the judge of the Juvenile Court in Vancouver, B.C., and for more than twenty years, Judge MacGill had a long record of public service. In 1918 she was named a member of the British Columbia Minimum Wage Board, first of its kind in Canada, and helped draw the board's first regulations.

Judge MacGill was the first woman in British Columbia to hold the dual offices of judge of the juvenile court and justice of the peace. She was appointed to the bench in 1917, serving until 1929, with a reappointment in 1934. Although a busy lawyer and judge, she was also an active vigorous worker for laws improving the condition of women and children in industry and was a warm advocate of penal reform measures and work for juvenile delinquents. Active in obtaining suffrage for women, she was a supporter of old age pensions, child labor legislation, children's allowances, and other social legislation. Her long and useful life came to a peaceful end in her daughter's home in Chicago. She was a pioneer worker for many reforms.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MARRIAGE GUIDANCE COUNCIL

When the Denning Report on divorce was published in Britain in February, one of its most important recommendations was the institution of a state-sponsored marriage welfare service, where guidance could be given to estranged couples.

The committee was obviously aiming at an extension of the work of the Marriage Guidance Council, which is already in the field and was initiated by Dr. David Mace in 1938. The outbreak of war in 1939 brought the work of the Council to a temporary standstill, but it was reconstituted in 1943 and has developed rapidly ever since. The organization has grown from a small movement, started by experts in the quiet of a London drawing-room, to a national institution, recognized by magistrates, who send estranged couples to the Council if they feel that a reconciliation can be effected.

Dr. Mace's organization has treated marriage guidance on a scientific and specialized footing. It has opened a marriage guidance center in London and several in the English provinces. The work at these centers is done by carefully selected people, most of whom possess professional qualifications. They are called "counselors." They are trained to recognize the nature of the marital difficulty and to diagnose it, then to deal with the case in the most suitable way. Sometimes they themselves try to reconcile the couple, but often they refer them to a specialist in a particular subject.

These specialists are called "consultants." Professional men and women, they willingly give part of their time to the work. They fall into five categories: medical, psychological, ethical and spiritual, social, and legal. Once a case is put into the hands of a consultant, the Marriage Guidance Council retires from the field and the ordinary doctor-patient, lawyer-client relationships follow. The consultant gives his advice free if the party cannot afford to pay, but otherwise charges a normal fee.

"Our experience shows," said Dr. Mace, "that when we are able to deal with marriage difficulties at an early age we can almost always resolve them."

The work of the Marriage Guidance Council falls into three categories: educational, personal service, and research.

On the educational side, the Council starts right at the beginning by impressing on parents and others connected with child welfare the importance of sex instruction given in the right way by the right person. General preparation for marriage is given to boys and girls who are not yet engaged, and a more fundamental preparation to those about to marry. The Council also provides lectures for those already married to help them overcome any special difficulties. It holds conferences of doctors, ministers, social workers, and others who are aware of marital problems and have some contribution to make to their solution. It provides courses of lectures for those who wish to become expert in the work of marriage guidance. But its most important educational aim is to build up throughout Britain a body of people qualified by study and training to deal with various aspects of the difficulties which arise in marital relations.

As far as personal service goes, one of the primary aims of the Council is to establish marriage guidance centers in every large city in Britain. Each center will be staffed by a team of qualified people representing the various categories of the work of marriage guidance. Through the centers, those who are in need of help and guidance will be able to secure expert advice and be instructed how to obtain any treatment they may need.

At the London center, the Council has treated four thousand couples in the last three years and helped them find their way to happiness. Divorce, says Dr. Mace, is no part of the work of the center, which tries only to bring together those who have found married life difficult.

The research side of the Council's work has as its aim the undertaking and encouraging of the scientific study of marriage as a social institution.

Most marriage difficulties, thinks Dr. Mace, lie in the emotional immaturity of the partners. People whose idea of marriage is based on movie romances are not likely to be able to adjust comfortably in a partnership which needs patience and willingness and cannot depend on fantasy.

An effective tribute to the work of the Council is the way in which its pattern has been followed by many persons and in many places. Both the Church of England and the Roman Catholic church have started organizations which work in close touch with the Council. Voluntary organizations have started marriage guidance centers of their own.

If the British government adopts the recommendations of the Denning Report, it seems likely that the state-sponsored marriage welfare service will be based on Dr. Mace's existing organization and that his eight-year struggle will meet its reward in national recognition of his work.

JEAN HODGSON

LONDON, ENGLAND

SOCIAL WORKERS AND THE PRESS

The American social worker, as such, has no special grievance against the press. With some exceptions, the leaders in the social work movement have been humanitarians, liberals, friends of peace and of gradual, evolutionary reform. The extreme or doctrinaire radicals have never felt or expressed much sympathy with the social settlement, the immigrant protective leagues, the juvenile protective societies, the organized charities, the efforts to improve our correctional institutions, and the like. This, in their eyes, meant the treating of symptoms and the dodging of basic social and economic issues. The radical, if he or she worked in any one of these or similar fields, did so to make a living and tried faithfully to earn the salary attached to the job.

The press has never been hostile to social work and has been tolerably fair in its news pages to such work. Jane Addams was viciously persecuted by one Chicago newspaper, which was controlled for several years by a reactionary banker, because she was consistent and brave in defending unpopular causes and in allowing, at Hull-House, complete freedom of speech. The normal activities of her settlement have always commanded adequate space and, at times, favorable comment.

However, social workers have taken a deep interest in the questions connected with the constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech and publication. The right of free speech and expression has often been abused, as has every other right. The same right has also not infrequently been denied and violated by bigoted and intol-

erant elements, by lawless mobs, and by political dictators and usurpers. The American press, in the name of freedom, has opposed certain restrictions upon the employment of child labor by the business and circulation departments of daily newspapers. In recent years, wage and price trends have forced the suspension of hundreds of small newspapers and the consolidation of others. In many communities, there is today no newspaper competition at all. Monopoly is the rule rather than the exception in the smaller towns. Even in some metropolitan communities the present trend is toward monopoly in the newspaper "business." The result, on the whole, favors conservatism and reaction. The liberal groups have no adequate representation in the daily and weekly press. All these facts are notorious, of course.

What is even more serious is the downward trend in the moral sphere. The newspapers not only do not serve their communities adequately; they actually tend to degrade the average taste, to demoralize many of their readers, to promote hate and prejudice.

The existence of a grave press problem, in the sense thus indicated, led, among other phenomena, to the formation of a very strong, representative, and independent Commission on the Freedom of the Press, headed by the Chancellor of the University of Chicago, Robert Maynard Hutchins. This body, thanks to a generous grant of money by Henry R. Luce, publisher and editor of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*, and to a smaller grant by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, was enabled to undertake "an unfettered and useful inquiry into the present state and future prospects of the freedom of the press." This is the formal or official description of the task of the Commission. Members of the newspaper profession; or trade, like the present writer, would probably describe that task somewhat differently and more realistically. The inquiry was actually into *the moral and professional standards and practices of the press* and other major agencies of mass communication. The findings and conclusions reached by the Commission were submitted to the public some months ago in a report entitled *A Free and Responsible Press*.¹

This document proved rather disappointing

¹ Commission on Freedom of the Press, *A Free and Responsible Press: A General Report on Mass Communication; Newspapers, Radio, Motion Pictures, Magazines, and Books*. With a Foreword by Robert M. Hutchins. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947. Pp. xii+138. \$2.50.

to many. The *New Yorker*, for instance, said "it was interesting but not much of a wallop." Other commentators said its recommendations were superficial if not also utopian, or futile. Still others gave it faint praise, while agreeing with its principal contention and its specific criticisms of the press.

What is the truth concerning the report as judged by unprejudiced, experienced, and broad-minded journalists who have lived with the problem and realize its complexity as well as its gravity?

The great value of the report is overlooked by most of those who attempt to belittle it. It makes only one recommendation of direct interest to the lawmakers, and the Commission must be fully aware that this single suggestion will not, at best, yield important practical consequences. It favors legislation requiring newspapers to publish corrections of errors or misstatements when such are demanded and submitted in proper form. Many papers do so now, and those which refuse to apologize or make suitable amends for unfair or damaging reports will be able in some way to nullify the intent of the proposed law. Indeed, such a law is likely to be declared unconstitutional. If a statement is not libelous, a request for a correction may safely be disregarded. The complainant has no case worth pressing against the publisher.

The Commission appeals to the conscience, professional pride, and enlightened self-interest of the publishers and editors of the influential newspapers. It asks them to improve their standards and practices; to meet the needs of the communities they are supposed to serve much more efficiently, methodically, and sincerely than they now do; and to criticize one another frankly and severely instead of remaining silent when serious injustices and wrongs are committed by reckless or unscrupulous papers against persons or groups or social movements. This is counsel of perfection, no doubt, and it will hardly be heeded by those most guilty of serious offenses. It would be rash, however, to say that the appeal will fail totally and fall on deaf ears. It may do some good here and there.

The Commission is to be commended and thanked for the very important negative part of its courageous report. This part is, in effect, an indictment of our press on several counts, an indictment richly deserved but not often found in books or magazines of general circulation. Only

an occasional pamphlet, or a little newsletter like *In Fact*, directs attention to the sins, lapses, abuses, and vicious features of our commercial press, our sensational and irresponsible or "yellow" press, our pornographic press. The great majority of newspaper readers feel that something is rotten in the press, but the subject has not been discussed with the vigor, the honesty, the knowledge, the logic it demands. The report of the Commission marks a significant and heartening change of attitude toward the press, and we may expect further manifestations of this new spirit from our independent educators, our liberal thinkers, our enlightened and superior businessmen, our progressive lawyers. The intellectual and moral stature of the Commission invites close study of the report, and its charges cannot be shrugged off or laughed off by the most hardened and wilful offenders.

Briefly, what does the indictment charge in its several counts? This:

The press emphasizes the exceptional rather than the significant. Its criteria of interest are recency, proximity, combat, human curiosity, novelty. "These limit accuracy as well as significance."

The press pays little, if any, attention, to activities of a constructive, progressive, uplifting character. These are "crowded out by stories of nightclub murders, race riots, strike violence and quarrels among public officials."

The citizen, therefore, is not supplied the information and discussion he needs to discharge his responsibilities to the community.

Some of the columnists—and the radio commentators—think that "the way to attract maximum audiences is to supply the public with keyhole gossip, rumor, character assassination and lies."

Much of what passes for public discussion is sales talk. Sales talk relies heavily on sheer repetition of stimuli, presents favorable facts only, exaggerates values, and suggests a romantic world. It does not discuss a product; it sells it.

The news is twisted by the emphasis on firstness, on the novel and sensational, by the personal interest of the owners, who belong to Big Business, and by pressure groups.

Too much of the regular output of the press consists of a miscellaneous succession of stories and images which have no relation to the typical lives of real people anywhere. "Too often the result is meaninglessness, flatness, distortion and the perpetuation of misunderstanding among widely scattered groups."

The Commission concludes that the press is not, on the whole, "meeting the needs of modern society." This is obviously an understatement.

ment; the findings just summarized would justify much stronger language. But most readers will do that anyhow. The point is that the indictment speaks for itself, and the *New Yorker* is mistaken when it says that the report is "not much of a wallop." It is a wallop the daily newspapers will not easily recover from. To be accused of lying, or distortion, or sensationalism and irresponsibility, by a responsible and eminent body of Americans is a new experience for the boastful, defiant, and purse-proud publishers.

We take it for granted that the report will be followed by other documents of like import. The whole question is now before the public, and the discussion will be lively and pointed. Remedial proposals will come from various sources. Suggestions made in the past, mainly in the labor and liberal periodicals, will be revived.

The Commission believes in a free press. It does not seek or contemplate any kind of cen-

sorship or any undemocratic restrictions upon the freedom of the press. But it does warn the "defendants"—morally, a good many newspapers know that they are defendants—that failure to improve their standards, to remove causes for just complaint, to show decent respect for professed principles, is likely, if not certain, to lead to a policy of restriction, regulation, and control toward the press. Not perhaps next year, or next decade, but eventually. Abuses complained of by millions of intelligent and sober-minded men and women will be corrected, sooner or later. Freedom must be earned, paid for, by those who value it. The price is a sense of responsibility, of obligation to the educated public, of professional honor. Red herings, demagoguery, empty pretensions, and crocodile tears will not long fool the public.

VICTOR S. YARROS

LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA

BOOK REVIEWS

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1946. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947. Pp. xi+608. \$5.00.

Any copy of the annual *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* deserves a place on the bookshelf of every individual or organization that wants to know what is going on in social work and its allied fields. The *Proceedings* is a routine "must" for all those interested in welfare and in people, and it serves as the one best continuous history of public and private social work in this country. This reviewer suspects that, as the seventy-five-year history of the National Conference of Social Work is now being written and put into one volume to commemorate the seventy-fifth anniversary in Atlantic City in the spring of 1948, the author is relying to a very large extent on the annual *Proceedings*.

The 1946 edition published in April, 1947, is in many respects similar to most of the preceding volumes but has some special characteristics of its own. The meeting, which was held in Buffalo, New York, was the first postwar gathering and followed a year in which no conference was held, owing to the transportation shortage.

In all, 180 manuscripts were reviewed by the Editorial Committee of the Conference, which is given the responsibility for selecting the papers to be included in the *Proceedings*. Using the criteria of "time limit, historical importance, and current usefulness," sixty-three papers were selected for inclusion in the volume being reviewed. This means that approximately only one out of three was included, which suggests a rather careful analysis in relation to the criteria used. The papers are classified into eleven broad headings such as "Social Work Widens Its Horizon," "Social Work Faces Economic Problems," "Social Work Reviews Its Method of Getting Things Done." In addition to the papers, the volume has two convenient indexes, including a general index and one by authors, and three appendixes relating to the business and financial aspects of the Conference.

This edition is 50 per cent larger than the three preceding ones; there were three issues of somewhat restricted size during the war. The

1946 volume gives evidence both in size and in content of a return to normalcy.

It is noticeable that the 1946 *Proceedings* compared with the three preceding volumes gives much more emphasis on social work method. Actually, there are 213 pages describing method in case work, group work, community organization, and administration; this represents more than one-third of the total. It is noticeable, too, that administration as a method rates an entire section, with several outstanding contributions including Arlien Johnson's "The Administrative Process in Social Work" and Charles Hendry's "The Dynamics of Leadership." This is a relatively new emphasis and suggests that problems of administration and training for administration are receiving more attention.

In this first postwar volume the veteran still gets some special mention but proportionately less than in preceding years. There seems to be somewhat of a tendency to consider the problems of people as such and to avoid an overemphasis on the needs of special groups.

While the problems of method and process are given renewed attention, the wider aspects of human needs and difficulties are also included. International welfare is discussed under such headings as "Welfare Problems and Programs in China," by Donald S. Howard, and "The Children of Europe," by John E. Dula. The increasing concern for the mentally ill is evidenced by such articles as "Developing a Federal Mental Health Program," by Robert H. Felix, and a series of papers on "The Responsibility of the Psychiatric Social Worker." Delafield Smith makes a significant contribution in his article on "Community Prerogatives and the Individual," in which he brings together certain legal concepts and "the right to assistance." An effort to adapt to new settings is suggested by such papers as "Social Work in a Revolutionary Age," by Kenneth Pray, and "Social Work in the New Economic Scene," by Ewan Clague. Other papers range all the way from the needs and problems of childhood to the problems of our senior citizens.

Most of the articles are written by the familiar big names in social work, but there is a

sprinkling of newcomers and a very few from outside the field of social work, including General Omar Bradley and Harold Ostertag. Only one or two can be classified as representing labor, and industry likewise is at best scantily represented if at all. In a forum with as wide interests as the National Conference, one might wish for more numerous contributions from elements outside of social work per se but with the same general goals and interests.

Generally speaking, the papers are well done, and not a few of them will be used for many years in the classroom and for other reference purposes. The presidential address, "Social Work in a Revolutionary Age," sets the stage for what follows when President Pray, referring to democracy, says that "there can be no compromise in the application of this principle. Either we believe in people—all people—or we do not; either we recognize and respect the inalienable rights and responsibility of individual human beings to manage their own lives, or we do not; either we sincerely appreciate the validity and the value of genuine difference, or we do not. Either we help the individual to find his own way through to his own end, within the essential structure of a cooperative society, or we control him to our own end." Max Lerner picks up the theme in his "Toward an American Society," and others touch it in various ways. Indeed, social work and democracy are not unrelated!

If the 1946 *Proceedings* is not the best in the long series of conference publications, it is one of the best. From the standpoint of value received, it is cheap at \$5.00.

BENJAMIN E. YOUNGDAHL

*George Warren Brown School of Social Work
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri*

Unto the Least of These: Social Services for Children. By EMMA OCTAVIA LUNDBERG. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1947. Pp. xi+424. \$3.75.

Miss Lundberg's new book has the widest coverage of any book of its kind that has come to the reviewer's attention, and all persons interested in the development of social services for children should find it full of interest. The author's long experience with the United States Children's Bureau and the Child Welfare

League of America has put her in an excellent position to "know whereof she speaks," and her book has much to give the student, the child welfare worker, the board member, and anyone who has a desire to know how social work for children has developed through the years.

The early chapters are historical and tell us about the early institutions for dependent children, the services for the mentally deficient, for the physically handicapped, the juvenile delinquent, and the early public programs for children.

She then has a chapter entitled "Pathfinders of the Middle Years," in which she has given short biographical sketches of twelve persons whom she was privileged to know intimately through her association with them. It was interesting to me to notice how their efforts met and here and there sometimes conflicted in the days when the number of social workers was not so large as at present.

This is followed by additional sketches about persons who are still with us but because of age or infirmity are no longer actively engaged in day-by-day work.

As one of the "line workers" of the middle years I missed in the book a few persons whose contributions I thought deserved equal mention with the twenty she had given us, but she explains that the pathfinders she included were known intimately through her own work and association with them.

In the last chapters she has discussed trends in child care, in which she includes day care of children, homemaker service, developments in foster-care, the closing of state homes, and the relation between public and private agencies.

She devotes one chapter to control of juvenile delinquency, with special attention to probation, detention, state training schools, and the more recent acceptance of study and treatment of the delinquent's child personality.

One of her particularly interesting chapters discusses the legal basis of social action, in which we are told about state commissions and children's codes, adoption laws and procedure, termination of parental rights, the laws for the protection of children born out of wedlock, the law of guardian and ward, and the provisions for licensing and supervision of child-caring institutions and agencies.

Her chapter headings are all provocative, but the final chapter, "The Road Leads Forward," offers a challenge to all those who are to follow on in the years ahead.

The leaders of the past laid a firm foundation which Miss Lundberg has described excellently. Indeed, I found only a few omissions which I suppose can be explained by the fact that for one reason or another Miss Lundberg did not reach them on her busy, active road. She makes no mention of work for Negro children or of the boarding-home plan for mentally defective children, which New York State has begun to develop. She has also omitted any mention of the fine program in behalf of European children, victims of the ravages of war who came to the United States for protection.

The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the frequent use of footnotes giving source material. In addition, the book also contains a comprehensive and classified "reading list" which can be used advantageously and with much benefit by a reader.

But social workers in the making as well as those already on the highway will be very grateful to Miss Lundberg for her clear and well-organized discussion of the building of the road whereby they will be enabled to see more clearly the road both behind and ahead of them.

MARY RUTH COLBY

Minneapolis, Minnesota

American Indian Education: Government Schools and Economic Progress. By EVELYN C. ADAMS. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. xii+122. \$2.25.

A primary question regarding a book of this type is, What is the author's objective? Mrs. Adams answers that question directly and modestly in the opening paragraphs of her Preface from which the following quotations are taken:

.... When stationed on a western Indian Reservation I became curious as to how historical forces had molded the anomalous Indian situation.

This study pretends to be little more than a skeletal outline of a deeply rooted complex subject. From the earliest settlement of America varying programs were adopted to resolve the conflict between Indian and European-American culture. Education played a prominent role in these attempts.

The aim of this marginal work is to show how poorly or how well the many programs of the settlers and, later, of the United States government realized stated goals, and also how they failed or succeeded

in meeting Indian needs. Analytic studies of specific Indian groups are beginning to appear and for these the material here presented should serve as an illuminating backdrop.

John Collier in his Introduction says:

.... Mrs. Adams makes no pretense to exhaust a subject that probably will never be exhausted. No one would be happier than she if a work of a more wide-embracing reach and a more analytical nature should supersede her own. It is my impression that such a superseding work may not be forthcoming for a good many years. In the meantime, here is a carefully factual, a perceptive, and a devoted beginning.

To this reviewer the book seems amazingly well done. To span the history of Indian education from the "Colonial Prelude" (chap. ii) to the "Reorientation and Improvement" [of the Collier administration 1933-45] (chap. vi), and then to present "Problems and Outlook" (chap. vii) all in the compass of not much more than 100 pages and to do it well is no small achievement. Naturally the book is, to use Mrs. Adams' own word, "skeletal," but such a skeleton serves an extremely useful purpose.

A distinctive feature of the book is the absence of hard criticism of the settlers and the government as the Indians "were being surrounded and partially engulfed by a civilization alien to them and while they were shifted from a majority to a minority population group and from occupants of half a continent to dwellers on fragments of land that often denied a subsistence living." She gives the facts rather than emotional reaction to the facts. The various educational programs as they developed are described but not roundly condemned. Mrs. Adams seems to have understanding of both sides.

Mrs. Adams makes one point that deserves emphasis. At times, present-day Indian educators are criticized for returning to the use of the Indians' native tongue. The objective is not primarily to preserve that tongue but to reach the Indians' understanding, which is essential to education.

Mrs. Adams ends her book with an appeal not to turn from the reorientation and improvement of the period 1933 to 1945. Although mistakes were made in that period, she believes that basically the program is sound and can be perfected in detail as knowledge and understanding increase.

LEWIS MERIAM

The Brookings Institution

The Future of Housing. By CHARLES ABRAMS.
New York: Harper & Bros., 1946. Pp. xix+
428. \$5.00.

This book is a slashing attack upon our failure to adopt and carry forward a rational public policy with respect to housing. Moreover, it minces no words in denouncing those held responsible for this failure. The author's belief is clear that it is more important to speak the truth as he sees it than to spare the feelings of government officials or of private enterprisers whose activities have retarded progress on the housing front.

Among the governmental groups, none is more thoroughly chastised than the Federal Housing Administration (F.H.A.). Created during the depression to insure mortgages and thus bolster the tottering lending institutions, F.H.A. is now accepted as a permanent prop. The author asserts that profit should belong, in a free-enterprise economy, to those who assume risks. One of his major objections to F.H.A. is that it takes the risk out of mortgage-lending without adequately restricting the profits. F.H.A.-insured mortgages still earn about 4½ per cent interest, whereas uninsured loans, both governmental and private, are currently available at lower returns. He advocates an interest rate of not to exceed 3½ per cent on this risk-free paper.

But he also has other objections to F.H.A. Chief of these perhaps is its solicitude for the lending institutions and its comparative indifference to the fate of the homeowner and mortgagor. He correctly points out that credit is an asset no less than actual cash; hence the use of government credit by the lending institutions means that they receive a genuine subsidy. Moreover, the subsidy may at some future time actually involve large cash losses by government in case another period of prolonged depression occurs. Since no type of subsidy is justifiable except to achieve a clear social purpose, the present program of F.H.A. seems to the author merely an unwarranted use of governmental powers to serve the interests of a highly organized and articulate financial group. He asserts that F.H.A. has no social objectives and has even sponsored antisocial policies. For example, he charges that it has recognized, acquiesced in, and even encouraged enforced segregation of Negroes.

The construction industry is likewise subjected to a forthright attack. This assault is not limited to the manufacturers and distributors of building materials; it also includes labor and the financing groups. The many selfish and dishonest practices with which the industry is riddled are fearlessly exposed. The reader emerges with the conviction that the industry does not contain within itself the leadership required to rationalize it and to direct its activities toward service in the public interest. Beardsley Ruml was undoubtedly right when he pointed out two years ago that, since none of the interested parties will lower his guard first, government must step in and examine the entire problem under the guidance of a disinterested citizen group similar to the Wickersham Commission.

Public housing emerges from Mr. Abrams' searching analysis with a better record than any other group. He thinks that local housing authorities have, on the whole, done a good job, that they have kept free from political encroachments, and that they have actually provided safe, sanitary housing for some of the lowest-income families—a feat never previously achieved in spite of a century of study and agitation on the subject.

Mr. Abrams is much more successful in exposing weaknesses than in providing constructive plans for improving matters. Only the last 75 pages of the book are devoted to an exposition of his program, and, of these, 15 pages are concerned with the broader related problem of city-planning rather than with housing as such. Although this section contains many good suggestions, some of which have not been proposed elsewhere, it does not actually provide a clear and forceful set of directives.

In fact, the concluding chapters of the book are anticlimactic. The author has a genius for pungent statement. Moreover, he has a passion for documentation. Thus, through a skilful mustering of facts with intervening interpretations written in forceful and colorful phraseology, he builds up expectations through the first four-fifths of the volume only to let the reader down at the end. The masterful job of demolition is not followed by an equally clear design for reconstruction.

WAYNE McMILLEN

University of Chicago

Five Million Patients: The Professional Life of a Health Officer. By ALLEN WEIR FREEMAN, M.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946. Pp. xiii+299. \$3.00.

Beginning with the memories of his medical education at Johns Hopkins Hospital and Medical School at the beginning of the century and ending with his retirement as dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene some forty years later, this book is full of the personal reminiscences of the full career of a medical officer in public health.

Without doubt the influence of the great Dr. Welch during his student days guided the course of his life. The disappointing experience of a year in Newark, where as an intern he was responsible for the medical care of more than three hundred ill inpatients (as well as ambulance service), with little help or teaching during the infrequent rounds by visiting staff, did not increase his interest in the clinical practice of medicine. "There had been no one to teach him and no time to learn." Even here, his interest was greatest in connection with the communicable disease wards.

His public health career began in 1907 as a medical inspector in Richmond, Virginia, at \$1,500 per year, the second full-time public health official in the state. He was confronted with problems such as the death of one out of every five or six babies in their first year of life, no control over the purity of water or milk, 400 to 500 typhoid cases each summer, and an annual budget of less than \$0.30 per person, including the salaries of four part-time doctors for the poor. These were the days when even antitoxin for diphtheria could be supplied by the Virginia State Health Department only for the poor and then often after hours of delay and red tape. Remnants of this philosophy of public health service—only for the poor—still persist in many states.

The description of the early searches for sources of typhoid infection, his pioneering studies of hookworm and trachoma, are among the most interesting chapters in the book.

As Assistant State Commissioner of Health in Virginia and as Epidemiologist with the United States Public Health Service, he participated in the most important studies of his career. The detailed analysis of 9,000 cases of poliomyelitis with 2,000 deaths in and near New York City in 1916 is an example. This was one of the earliest and still one of the most compre-

hensive studies of the epidemiology of poliomyelitis.

As State Health Officer in Ohio he gives us the vivid descriptions of the mobilization of all possible resources to combat a typhoid epidemic involving 10 per cent of the population of a small city. His failure, due to political influences, to assure full-time health services for all of Ohio was one of his greatest disappointments.

At the age of forty his dream of teaching public health came true when he was appointed resident lecturer in public health administration at the new Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, succeeding Sir Arthur Newsholme. The following passage from the chapter on "Professor's Life" reveals an understanding of the needs of teachers too rarely found in schools of public health:

His great concern was to keep up with the development of public health. It was growing rapidly and in many directions. New discoveries were being made and new methods of work were being found. Unless he could have some part in the actual development of the subject, his teaching would soon become stale and outmoded. Reading was not enough. He worked hard at the flood of periodicals and reports which poured over his desk. But however much or however carefully he read he could not get the true meaning of what was going on from reading only. He must see the real thing in operation, must talk with those actually doing the work if he would understand the new things.

The reviewer has read few autobiographies with such unassuming frankness and total freedom from self-praise.

EDWIN F. DAILY, M.D.

*Director, Division of Health Services
United States Children's Bureau*

Aging Successfully. By GEORGE LAWTON. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. xiv+266. \$2.75.

The announcement on the jacket of this book sets the tone for its contents. In bold letters we read "How to enjoy a rich constructive life as you grow older; a book for everyone who will ever be 60, and for everyone who is, or has been, 60." Dr. Lawton, a psychologist in private practice, writes informally for "all men and women who admittedly are aging, or who suspect the process will start in some distant future." He reiterates what has been said many times before

that the best time to prepare for old age is in childhood. The second best time, he believes, is in the forties, but it is not too late at sixty, although he points out the job will then be longer.

Dr. Lawton is convinced that we must raise for older people "not so much their standard of living as their standards of human relationships." He contends that growing old "gracefully" is not the goal but that rather we should grow old in wisdom and usefulness, and that this is not a "graceful" process and requires a certain amount of aggressiveness.

Such hazards of life as sickness and poverty which are more prevalent among the aged need not, in the opinion of the author, cause unhappiness. The way in which adversities are met depends upon the kind of person you have always been. There are many pleasures available even to the bedridden or the feeble, and the most tragic aspect of old age is not illness or poverty but futility. In his chapter "How Old Is Old?" Dr. Lawton points out that age is not chronological but biological, and even more psychological. The term "aged," according to this concept, could be applied to young as well as old. Old age is "a way of life, a question of intensity and not a matter of duration."

Some of the advantages and disadvantages of old age are analyzed, and the conclusion is drawn that there are probably more minus qualities than plus. Some people may feel, he points out, that all the plus qualities of age fail to compensate for the loss of a single important useful characteristic. In middle age, we must anticipate the plus changes of age which are on the way, and use the changes when they arrive.

Two chapters, "A Woman Grows Older" and "A Man Grows Older," deal with old age in terms of specific individuals, with some generalization as to what it means in terms of their respective sense of values to a man and a woman to grow old. The lasting effect of behavior patterns formed in early childhood is brought out in the chapter "In Youth Prepare for Age." There Dr. Lawton tells the story of Johnny, who, at the age of six, angrily refuses to eat his food and by so doing gives a picture of himself at sixty-six. The ability Johnny will need, he believes, is the ability to face changes. We must be able to make substitutions and compromises in line with our changing physical limitation.

The economic value of the person over fifty is discussed in the chapter "Jobs after Fifty," and the author relates stories of older persons he has known who have held jobs with great suc-

cess. The point is made that fear of aging, rather than aging itself, can lead to a drop in working efficiency. Instead of trying to compete with the younger worker, the older person should make a point of continual association and co-operation with him. Dr. Lawton does not touch upon the need for an understanding on the part of the young person in order to make such a relationship possible.

The author believes that industry should devote attention to the study of changes with age, in patterns of vocational interests and abilities, problems of human relations in industrial situations, types of occupation most suitable for older people, and methods of rehabilitation in maturity. This, he believes, would promote greater psychological security for the man of fifty, who dreads the age deadline, and the younger worker who will some day be the man of fifty.

On the question of retirement, the author is of the opinion that we should retire to—not from. This, like most of the ideas expressed, is not a new thought. There is some discussion of good and bad examples of retirement. Retirement is a period of "self-realization, and of production." The effect of changing economic conditions is not seriously considered.

In the chapter "Love at Maturity," the author discusses his ideas of love and marriage and holds that the love of December for December is love at maturity, and not the love of December for May. This chapter may seem to some a little like the "advice to the lovelorn" type of writing. It is full of generalizations and positive statements and will probably not be accepted without the proverbial grain of salt by professional people who subscribe to a highly individualized approach to emotional problems.

Other chapters which complete the book are: "Can Youth and Age be Friends?" "A Philosophy for Maturity," "A Private Talk with Your Older Self," "To Invite Trouble after Fifty," "A Bill of Rights for Old Age," "You Can't Demobilize Senior America," and finally an "Epilogue," which contains "Ten Hints on Aging Successfully."

The book is filled with quotations from writers and poets which are woven into the author's discussion to illustrate his meaning. There is perhaps too much repetition and overlapping and at times some verbosity. The book could have been shorter and yet accomplish the same purpose.

As for the purpose, that was expressed on the

jacket of the book: To help you "enjoy a rich, constructive life as you grow older." But this quite ambitious undertaking would require more than the psychological setting-up exercises which Dr. Lawton presents. There is little attention to the contribution medical science has and can make to the aging process. However, this book will probably provide a "lift" to older readers who are now concerning themselves with their own advance in years.

If the popularized treatment of the subject results in a better understanding on the part of the layman of old people and of the processes of aging, then Dr. Lawton will indeed have made a contribution to the field.

MARY L. THOMPSON

Chicago Hearing Society

Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe.

By MAURICE R. DAVIE, with the collaboration of SARAH W. COHN, BETTY DRURY, SAMUEL KOENIG, DOROTHY FOOTE TATE, CAROLYN ZELENY. New York: Harper & Bros., 1947. Pp. xxi+453. \$4.50.

Because of the many misconceptions about refugees current throughout the country, this volume, which refutes most of them, is peculiarly valuable. It is also peculiarly timely. The facts it has arrayed showing that the admission of refugees during the last ten to twelve years is being a distinct aid to the economic and industrial development of the United States and is a stimulus to its intellectual and cultural life should rally support for those who, like the President and the Secretary of State, urge that we offer asylum to a fair share of the refugees and displaced persons still homeless and miserable in Germany and Austria. If the group already here is a representative one, a generous gesture of that sort cannot jeopardize the welfare of our country. On the other hand, it will undoubtedly set an example which other countries will follow and so help solve a problem which constitutes a serious threat to peace and world unity.

This is not an ordinary, "run-of-the-mill" sort of book. It is the outcome of a comprehensive survey of the refugees in America begun a few years ago under the auspices of several of the most important organizations concerned with their welfare: the American Christian

Committee for Refugees, the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Committee for Refugees, the National Refugee Service—known since its consolidation in 1946 with the National Service to Foreign Born of the National Council of Jewish Women as the United Service for New Americans—and the United States Committee for the Care of European Children. The fact that Maurice R. Davie, chairman of Yale University's Department of Sociology and a recognized authority in the field of immigration, was director of the survey vouches for the accuracy and scholarly lack of bias of its findings. Though on a much smaller scale, the survey is perhaps comparable to that undertaken in 1907 under the auspices of the United States Congress by the famous United States Immigration Commission. Like it, the present survey is a nation-wide study of a contemporary immigration movement, involving considerable field work and the collection of firsthand material. Over two hundred agencies or committees, located in forty-one states and the District of Columbia, co-operated in the survey. Of the firsthand data used in the survey the most important probably were 11,233 replies to the questionnaires which the Committee had sent out, such replies coming from 638 communities in forty-three states and the District of Columbia.

This volume is comprehensive in scope. It supplies answers to most of the questions asked about refugees: Why have they come? Who are they? How many of them are there in the United States? How are they adjusting to the American way of life? Do they intend to remain? What effect are they having on American society? Are they proving an asset or a liability? and many other similar questions. Lack of space makes it possible to discuss the book's replies on only two or three of these points, but all make interesting reading. It is, for instance, a widespread misconception that the United States immigration laws were set aside in behalf of refugees and that they were permitted "to flood the country." Citing our government's official statistics and publications, the book shows that the number of refugees admitted during the years 1933 to 1944 as immigrants, for permanent stay, could not possibly have exceeded 318,000 and that 244,000 is undoubtedly a more accurate but still generous estimate; while the maximum number of refugees admitted during the period in question as nonimmigrants for temporary stay is 294,000

and probably did not even total 197,000. As the book points out, because our immigration laws do not provide a separate classification for aliens coming here as refugees, it is impossible to determine with exactitude how many have in fact been admitted.

To the "man-in-the-street" the extent to which refugees are competitors in the labor market is undoubtedly a matter of paramount importance. The book is most reassuring on this point. As its analysis of the composition of the refugee group shows, a majority are not wage-earners but housewives, young children, and people too old to work. "No one," it points out, "can say categorically that no recent immigrant or refugee had taken a job from an American. But neither is there any ground for assertions that thousands of Americans have been displaced by refugee workmen. Such allegations, when run to earth, generally prove to be fantastic exaggerations." On the contrary, as the book explains, many of the refugees have brought capital, estimated at many million dollars, to the United States and have started new enterprises which are giving employment to large numbers of Americans. They have introduced special skills, new processes, and secret formulas which will prove, and already have proved, very valuable to the economic and industrial development of this country. In support of this claim, the book cites the findings of a survey undertaken by the Study Committee in co-operation with the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe. Of the 158 manufacturing concerns which were established by refugees and which were covered by the survey, "69 were producing goods not previously manufactured in the United States. Of the total group, 50 had introduced new products, 22 new processes, 16 patents, 7 secret formulas, and 13 new skills." "If the same proportion should hold true for the total number of refugee industries in this country," the book declares, "the result would be a considerable addition to the economic life of the nation and a source of increased employment opportunities." Incidentally, it is of interest that Great Britain, Canada, and other countries which have admitted a substantial number of refugees report similar economic gains through their various activities.

The book contains an interesting account of what refugees are doing to develop this country's foreign trade. As is well known, considerable change has been expressed about the prospects along that line in the postwar period.

It would appear that refugees are likely to make a substantial contribution in that connection also. Many of those engaged in export-import trade here are making use of long-established business connections throughout the world and especially in South America. As the book points out, refugee businessmen and manufacturers have made the United States much more export conscious than it was before and it is likely that the future will see an expansion of American foreign trade for which they can claim credit. Trade with South America, for instance, which used to be chiefly in European hands, is being diverted to this country to a considerable extent and largely through the efforts of this group.

Important contributions are being made by the refugees to the cultural life of the United States also, as evidence received by the Study Committee from all parts of the country shows. This country, the book declares, has been incalculably enriched by the thousands of artists, scientists, scholars, engineers, and craftsmen who have found refuge here. The book devotes many pages to their activities and achievements, but only brief references are possible here. The names of at least nine refugee scientists have appeared in connection with the development in this country of the atomic bomb, and others may become public as more of the details of the project become common property. Three hundred refugee scientists are listed in the current editions of *American Men of Science* and *Who's Who in America*, twenty-three being listed in both directories. Twelve of the refugees who have come to the United States since 1933 are Nobel Prize winners; among them, Thomas Mann (Literature), Albert Einstein (Physics) and Enrico Fermi (Physics). The presence in this country, the book points out, of such men as Emil Ludwig, Franz Werfel, Stefan Zweig, Ferenc Molnar, Lion Feuchtwanger, Eric Maria Remarque, Jules Romains, and many other great ones "has added luster to the American scene."

The book is critical of certain elements in the refugee group and certain tendencies shown by it. The arrogance and extreme extravagance of the very wealthy refugees, the so-called "International Set," for instance, it censures sharply as being "especially reprehensible during depression or war, on the part of either natives or foreigners, and quite incongruous in the case of people who have fled to another country for safety." Their conduct has, it declares,

"brought discredit on the refugee group" as a whole. It also pokes fun at the tendency on the part of many refugees—a perfectly understandable tendency—to exaggerate their own importance in their home country and to contrast unfavorably their condition here with their former social and economic status in Europe. This type of refugee, according to Professor Davie's book, is known as the "bei uns," meaning "with us such-and-such was the case." Certain jokes have become current even in the refugee group itself about these "bei-uns" individuals. For example, a little Pekingese dog from Vienna was being pushed around by a Boston terrier. "You wouldn't dare do that in Vienna," said the Pekingese, "there I was a St. Bernard."

On the whole, however, the book portrays the refugee group in a highly sympathetic manner, and there is no doubt that the author and his associates, on the basis of their thorough and comprehensive survey, consider the refugees who have sought shelter in the United States since 1933 a valuable addition to the American population.

MARIAN SCHIBSBY

Fillmore, California

The Wisconsin Prisoner: Studies in Crimogenesis. By JOHN LEWIS GILLIN. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1946. Pp. xiii+266. \$3.00.

The purpose of this study is to test the hypothesis that the early experiences of prisoners have a bearing on their later involvement with the law. Thus the life-histories of a sample of Wisconsin prisoners were examined, and their various social and economic experiences from birth to incarceration—so far as they could be reconstructed—were recorded and analyzed statistically.

The sample was divided into three groups—murderers, sex offenders, and property offenders—and an effort was made to determine whether the respective groups tended to have similar or different backgrounds, whether prisoners and their nonprisoner brothers tended to have the same or different backgrounds, and what the individual case histories of the prisoners revealed regarding the bearing of the differences on the conduct of the prisoners.

The sample included 486 out of a total prison population of 1,700. It comprised 92 murderers (out of 108), 128 sex offenders (all such offenders

in the institution), and 266 property offenders (out of 933). The information was obtained by personal interviews with prisoners and checkups with other sources of information. An investigator visited most of the communities in Wisconsin and in adjacent states from which prisoners had come and interviewed relatives, employers, social agencies, courts, police, and acquaintances of the prisoners. However, the author tells us that, although the information thus obtained often corrected and supplemented what had been given by the prisoners, on the whole it was not worth the time and money it cost. The men seemed generally truthful about everything except the circumstances of their crimes. The need for a control group was met by interviewing brothers of prisoners. Of the 486 prisoners, 172 had brothers who were available, and each was interviewed in accordance with the same schedule of questions used for the prisoners.

The differences and similarities between the three groups of prisoners are set forth in forty-six detailed statistical tables and between prisoners and their law-abiding brothers in an additional sixteen tables. The differences found to exist between the three groups are difficult to summarize but in many items were rather marked. For example: 69 per cent of the murderers as compared with 49 per cent of the sex offenders and only 29 per cent of the property offenders had farm backgrounds. A much higher proportion of property offenders than of murderers or sex offenders reported coming from "high" income homes. The property offender reported that he had been the favorite of his father or mother much more frequently than did the sex offender and somewhat more frequently than did the murderer. The median I.Q. of the property offenders was 79 as compared with 75 for the murderers and 71 for the sex offenders. The mean mental age of the prisoners was 12.32 years as compared with a mean mental age of Wisconsin drafted men in World War I of 13.58 years.

The finding with respect to the differences in the backgrounds of the prisoners and their brothers is summarized as follows:

Thus the prisoners as a group departed from the accepted pattern of conduct, even aside from delinquency, more than did their brothers. The statistical data—which are confirmed by details of the case histories—suggest that rather early in life, especially during adolescence, the prisoners had developed a pattern of reactions of life's situations which ulti-

mately resulted in an unstable economic career and inharmonious domestic life. They were prevented from striking roots economically and socially which would have helped to guard them against delinquency. Their admission that they had been the objects of favoritism and their affection for the mother suggest, although they do not prove, that they had developed rather early in their lives a self-centeredness inimical to social stability.

The greater part of the book consists of well-presented case histories of members of the three prisoner groups, accompanied by valuable introductory, interpretive, and summary material. For example, we are informed that 31 out of 96 murderers committed their crimes as a sequel to a long-standing feud or grudge, 23 as the termination of an immediate quarrel, and 42 in connection with other crimes. Of the 42, 15 murders were connected with sex crimes, 7 were committed while resisting arrest, 11 were a means to robbery, and 9 were incidental to robbery. More than 30 per cent of the murderers were reported to have been drinking or were drunk at the time of their crimes.

In the introduction to the case histories of sex offenders the author discusses the existing literature and some of the theories as to the etiology of sex crimes and summarizes Freud's theory of the psychological roots of homosexuality. He points out that "the psychoanalysts, although they have given much attention to homosexuality, have almost neglected incest. . . ." On the subject of rape the writer says "the psychologists are as silent as the tomb." Thus in his statistics and case histories relating to the backgrounds of prisoners convicted of rape, which in this study includes statutory rape and incest, the author feels he is in a relatively virgin field.

In his final chapter, while admitting that

economic conditions are closely associated with crime rates, the author concludes "that economic conditions, good or bad, affect conduct only as they provide or relieve one of the strains which test a person's habitual responses to life and his emotional stability." He accounts for the low I.Q.'s of prisoners not on the basis of any disposition to criminality on the part of the mentally subnormal but rather because persons of low mental level are more easily influenced than others since they are less able to count the cost of their actions. Rather than low I.Q. "the most common and probably the most potent factor in the cases we have studied," says the author, "was unresolved emotional disturbance, as is revealed by the statistical data on jealousy, favoritism, appreciation of the mother, and disharmony in the parental family and in the prisoner's own domestic relationships. In these respects prisoners differed from their brothers. The case histories reveal how these emotional conflicts engendered an effort to compensate in some way for a sense of inferiority. . . ."

Finally the author expresses the hope that this study may serve to induce the judge to investigate carefully before he sentences; that it may inspire in the correctional-institution official the wish to know not only a prisoner's previous pattern of behavior but also, and especially, its deep-lying emotional aspects; that it may widen the perspective of pardon and parole authorities; and that it may be helpful also to parents, to teachers, and to clergymen in helping them understand the importance of life-experiences in molding human personality.

HENRY COE LANPHER

*Federal Bureau of Prisons
Washington, D.C.*

BRIEF NOTICES

Our Rural Communities: A Guidebook to Published Materials on Rural Problems. By LAVERNE BURCHFIELD. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1947. Pp. xii+201. \$2.50.

This book, which grew out of the work of a committee of the American Country Life Association, makes a significant contribution to the material available for rural leaders.

It is a digest of recent bibliographical material. The chapter headings make clear the breadth of coverage. They are: "Schools," "The Agricultural Extension Service," "Library Service," "The Church," "Medical Care and Health Service," "Welfare Serv-

ices," "Housing," "Recreation," "Children and Youth," "Co-operatives and General Farm Organization," "Local Government," "Community Organization," "Land Use," and finally there is a brief list of "General Publications on Rural Affairs."

This is much more than a listing of source material. Each chapter contains a brief narrative which points up the major problems in the field and presents in concise form the central ideas of the more significant written materials relating to it. This is followed by a more extensive list of books, pamphlets, and periodicals on the subject. The organization and style facilitate use of the book.

Because the coverage is broad, Miss Burchfield has consciously concentrated upon programs and activities of national agencies rather than of state and local groups. The reader is warned that the expert will not find the list in his own field complete, but certainly he will find the guidance provided to the somewhat "fugitive" materials of other fields stimulating and helpful as a basis for further understanding or for a program of action. It is a highly useful handbook.

GRACE BROWNING

Indiana University

Intercity Service in Travelers Aid. By MADELINE L. MACGREGOR. New York: National Travelers Aid Association, 1946. Pp. 171. \$3.00.

Within the several decades of its functioning the Travelers Aid has had a tremendous expansion both in its network of operations and in its services. In addition to its protective functions for the under-aged traveler or the person unable to proceed on his own, it gives information, money, advice, and helps to make necessary arrangements for the host of emergency situations which are brought to it by people in transit. It might have become a railroad station "catchall," an adjunct to passenger agent and stationmaster. It has instead maintained itself as a social agency. Its effort has been not simply to dispose of the problems it encountered but to see those problems in the light of their social and personal implications for the persons involved in them and to deal with them by the case-work method.

In this most recent publication Travelers Aid affirms again, as it has done in earlier publications, the case-work principles which underlie all aspects of its job. For obvious reasons much of the work of Travelers Aid is done by correspondence. The place from which the traveler has come, the place he is, the place to which he is going, may all be involved in planning and provision for him. Toward insuring thoughtful, client-focussed co-operative work among the several Travelers Aid units which may be involved in investigating and giving service on travelers' emergencies, this manual presents principles and procedures for the "initiating" and the "receiving" worker, suggestions for the co-ordination of efforts, for the interpretation of needs and services, and so on. Perhaps the distinguishing feature of this manual is expressed in the title of its second section: "Intercity Service in Travelers Aid Has Its Inception in Social Casework Philosophy and Method." The principles and approach of social case-work underpin each policy and procedure outlined. An Appendix carries fifteen cases in which various problems and aspects of intercity service are dealt with and critically commented upon.

While this manual is written primarily for the use of the worker in Travelers Aid, it represents a method of presentation which might well be emu-

lated by all social agencies which seek, through their manuals, to facilitate the translation of their purposes into operation.

HELEN H. PERLMAN

Creative Old Age. By CLARE DE GRUCHY. San Francisco: Old Age Counseling Center, 1946. Pp. 143. \$2.75.

The late Dr. Lillian J. Martin and Clare de Gruchy were among the first group to be fired with the desire to help older people get "off the shelf" where society had put them and to take their rightful places in an active world. The San Francisco Old Age Counseling Center, which Dr. Martin founded over twenty years ago and with which Mrs. De Gruchy, now the director, has been associated since its founding, has done much to develop a positive, nondefeatist approach to the problem of older people and to change some "set" ideas.

Creative Old Age is a readable, thoroughly enjoyable account of "cases" who have been known to the Center. Throughout the book is the underlying philosophy of the Center that the individual must be adjusted to his environment if he is to attain successful living. Six case histories are presented which are fairly representative of a cross-section of any aged group. There was the gentleman who once had occupied an important position in life, but not being able to retain such a position on a valid basis was now argumentative, quarrelsome, and a chronic complainer. Then there was the little lady whose well-meaning friends thought she should be in a "home" but who did not want to go there at all. There was the "hopeless case" who was confined to her home because of chronic illness, completely shut off from the outside world. And there was the "dowager" with plenty of money and too much attention from her son and daughter. When she went to the Center, she complained that she was "dying of an overdose of good fortune."

In each instance the aged person was unhappy and groping for some means of self-expression. The way in which the Center provided such opportunities illustrates that it is indeed a place where, as the author points out, "the value of the abilities of old people is appreciated and believed in." After being helped by the Center, one older woman remarked, "I am not like Whistler's Mother any more."

The approach to each person's problem was on an individual basis. Each was given an opportunity to tell his life-history—"to think out loud" about himself, his likes, and dislikes—and given help in gaining insight. Mental tests were given, and after an evaluation by the counselor, which at times seemed to the reviewer to be superficial, his daily program was worked out.

Artistic, writing, and other talents blossomed forth under the guidance of the Center. But in all instances success was not achieved, as pointed out

in the chapter "Some Failures." The author states that as a result of many years' experience it has been found that about 9 per cent of all problems have remained unsolved. It is not clear how this evaluation was made, but the failures discussed were those of persons who for one reason or another did not return after the initial interview. The author points out that "it is more satisfactory to explain at the outset that to reclaim life and to become a fully-functioning mature adult is not a thing that can be bought from another person, but that effort—sustained and often difficult for the client—is imperative if he is to reach that goal."

The second half of the book is devoted to a discussion of group projects developed by the Center and includes information about the "Salvaging Old Age Farm," which Dr. Martin began in 1933 for a group of unemployed older men. The Farm was in existence five years and was a unique and apparently successful experiment. Here is also a report on the study groups which Dr. Martin developed in an attempt to "educate or re-educate the old so they would form an intelligent electorate through understanding the problems faced in daily life."

Some readers may feel that the problems have been oversimplified and that there were too many "successes," but the positive and optimistic approach in this and previous writings of Martin and De Gruchy is greatly needed to counteract the all too prevalent negativism and hopelessness toward old age.

MARY L. THOMPSON

3000 Families Move To Make Room for Stuyvesant Town: A Story of Tenant Relocation Bureau, Inc.
By ROSAMOND G. ROBERTS. New York: James Felt & Co., Inc., 1947. Pp. 23.

Few housing developments in this country have aroused more acrimonious debate than Stuyvesant Town, the new 8,800 unit project under construction by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in New York City. When plans for clearing the site in the old "Gas House district" were under discussion, the 3,000 families inhabiting the doomed structures rose in their wrath. They sought to block the entire project. Public opinion was to a considerable degree in sympathy with their demands. In February, 1945, a bill was introduced into the Legislature at Albany to force postponement of the project.

In this climate of opinion, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company agreed to pay all expenses of a new agency to be known as the Tenant Relocation Bureau, Inc. The sole function of this agency was to help the 3,000 families to find new homes in locations and at rentals acceptable to them. The experiences encountered by the Bureau are worthy of study by other cities that may be facing similar problems. Chicago, for example, hopes soon to construct the Congress Street superhighway—a venture that will

dehouse hundreds of families ranging all the way from the poor to the prosperous.

A basic question here is this: Should a dehouse family be obliged to stand all the expenses incident to relocating or should some or all of these costs be borne by the organization, public or private, that is responsible for the disruption? In New York the displaced tenants claimed that the moving companies exploited their necessity by charging high prices. Then there were the costs of new floor coverings and other furnishings required in the new abode. Until July 1, 1945, tenants were allowed a month's rent to help meet the moving costs. Since some of the displaced families paid only \$10 per month rent, this stipend could scarcely be called munificent. Additional cash allowances were granted in some cases, however, to meet special costs such as changing a refrigerator to operate on a different kind of electric current. All in all, the experience was illuminating, and it is clear that here is an entire new area in which policies need to be thought out very carefully if urban redevelopment is actually to ensue on a large scale in this country.

W. McM.

An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing: A Yardstick for Housing Officers, Housing Officials and Planners, Part II: Appraisal of Dwelling Conditions. AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION, COMMITTEE ON THE HYGIENE OF HOUSING. New York, 1946. Pp. xi+246.

The Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association has been working assiduously for some years to develop a clear methodology for appraising the housing of a community. Part I, dealing with the nature and uses of the proposed method, was published in 1945. Part III, reported to be now ready for publication, will relate to the environmental factors that determine whether a house is a good or bad place to live. Part II, recently made available in three volumes, is concerned with the appraisal of structures and of the dwelling units within these structures.

The three loose-leaf volumes of Part II bear the following subtitles: Volume A, *Survey Director's Manual*; Volume B, *Field Procedures*; Volume C, *Office Procedures*. This convenient division of the material enables each worker to keep constantly at hand the directives relating to his part of the job.

Extreme care was exercised in developing this system. No pains have been spared to foresee every possible hazard and to explain in detail and with admirable clarity each step in the undertaking. But the Committee wisely decided that the manuals alone are not enough; communities wishing to use the method are urged to communicate with the Committee in order that personal guidance may be made available.

The objective of the scheme is to base results upon objective data rather than upon the judgments of the field agents. On this point, the report says: "Whereas the facilities and occupancy items will show virtually 100 per cent agreement between the reporting of one properly trained enumerator and another, it must be recognized that individual differences will appear in the reporting for maintenance items, even with clear instructions and conscientious work." Variations caused by differing judgments are to be held to a minimum by the training and supervision of the agents and by certain checking procedures. Moreover, the maintenance items are to be set forth in a separate subtotal. Thus the Committee has made an unusually persistent effort to objectify. There is some hazard involved, of course, in drawing conclusions about housing conditions from data that are not accompanied by the judgments of those who saw the houses. As experience with this scheme accumulates, there will doubtless be evidence to indicate the areas in which these hazards are most likely to be encountered.

W. McM.

Manual of Suggested Standards for a State Correctional System. By the COMMITTEE ON THE MODEL STATE PLAN OF THE AMERICAN PRISON ASSOCIATION. New York: American Prison Association, 1946. Pp. 94. \$1.00.

This *Manual* is a competent summary of the progressive views of a committee of seventeen well-known penologists on the more important questions relating to the organization and functioning of a state correctional system for adults. The following subjects are dealt with: scope of the state correctional system, central administration, probation, diversification of institutions, personnel, classification, medical services, employment, education, library service, religious activities, recreation, discipline, parole, and jails. There is an excellent Foreword by Mr. Sam A. Lewisohn, chairman of the committee and president of the American Prison Association, who rightly points out that many of the proposals made have been adopted in some states, but that no state has attained as yet "a Utopian correctional system." Mr. Austin H. McCormick, of the Osborne Association, as reporter for the committee, wrote most of the thorough, discriminating report.

The stress on institutional programs is appropriate to the primary interest of the Association, but the desirability of devoting eight pages to institutional libraries may be questioned, when such important subjects as probation and parole are given only three and seven pages, respectively. A longer section on employment of prisoners that is probably the best statement on that problem which has appeared, is a comprehensive, honest, and realistic exploration of

that difficult question. In most chapters optimum standards are suggested although minimum essentials also are described; however, it is interesting to note that the chapter on probation reproduces the suggested personnel qualifications adopted by the Professional Council of the National Probation Association in 1945—qualifications that are more appropriate to where we are than to where we should be. Generally, the proposals are courageous and forward looking. The fixed sentence is condemned unequivocally; in instances in which the court determines that probation has failed or is considered inadvisable, commitments should be to a state correctional department, preferably with a wholly indeterminate sentence.

While differing opinions of various committee members led to some compromises there seems to have been substantial agreement on most questions. However, the place of probation in the system, which has long been a matter of controversy, apparently could not be resolved. It is admitted that the entire correctional process should be co-ordinated, but it is explained that the complete co-ordination of probation, institutions, and parole under state auspices is difficult at present. Although the administrative integration of institutions and parole is recommended strongly, a "sharp division of opinion" is reported on the question of combining probation and parole supervision. Some committee members believed that parole involved different techniques from probation, and that the two should be combined only as a matter of expediency in small or less populous states, while others believed that combined services had proved practicable in more populous states.

With regard to the integration of corrections with other public welfare services, it is recommended that administration of the state correctional system for adults be vested either in a separate state department or in the state welfare department. The arguments for each plan are stated. While indicating that there is some support for the appointment of the executive by the governor, it is stated that the weight of experience suggests that political interference is minimized by the use of a policy-making corrections board of five to nine members appointed by the governor for overlapping terms, with the board in turn appointing the administrative head of the department for an indefinite term. It is also noted that there is strong support for the selection of the department head through civil service—the method recommended for appointment of all other employees.

The *Manual* is a substantial contribution to an important field in which the lack of accepted standards has been a serious detriment to the efforts of those interested in improving conditions, and it should prove helpful to the officials who know the social damage done by inefficient correctional systems.

F. T. F.

Education for Ladies, 1830-1860: Ideas on Education in Magazines for Women. By ELEANOR WOLF THOMPSON. New York: King's Crown Press, 1947. Pp. ix+170. \$2.75.

This is an attractive, readable small volume that covers the period when education for women was a "cause" and when the Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls began the great crusade for "women's rights" which was to last for the next seventy years. Miss Thompson has selected the subject of education for women as it was dealt with in the magazines for ladies during the three decades before the Civil War. Here are the long-forgotten treasures—*Godey's Lady's Book*, the *Southern Rose Bud*, "devoted to the culture of the imagination, the understanding and the heart," the *Magnolia*, the *Ladies' Garland*, the *Ladies' Pearl*, the *Sibyl* (the official "organ" of the National Dress Reform League), *Moore's Western Lady's Book*, the *Ladies' Repository*, and other names familiar at that time.

Social workers will be surprised to find a chapter on "Education of the Handicapped," which shows that the magazines for women published articles on the new schools for the blind, for the deaf, and for the feeble-minded which were being opened during this period, first in one state and then in another. Here, for example, is the story of Dr. Howe's work with Laura Bridgman; and Harriet Martineau's letter to the deaf was reprinted in the *Southern Rose*, April 4, 1835. Miss Thompson tells us that, although "writers in the popular periodicals did not indicate the importance of the work among the blind and the deaf in the development of the science of education, they did, however, suggest to their readers a desirable attitude to take toward the physically handicapped. A deaf and dumb pupil urged that the deaf be aided and instructed, not pitied. Another asked that the deaf and dumb be sent to school."

We are told that few of the women's periodicals carried advertisements, and, therefore, the editorial content had to be such as to attract as many subscribers as possible. Therefore, the new ladies' magazines tried hard to meet the readers' needs. That they were sentimental is shown by their titles, but there was also a genuine interest in education. The "sphere" of woman was being broadened, and at the same time new periodicals were trying to meet her needs and particularly her interest in new horizons. The author found an interesting field for research in these magazines for ladies, and the result is a very entertaining little book.

E. A.

Social Pathology. By JOHN LEWIS GILLIN. 3d ed. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1946. Pp. viii+645. \$4.50.

This is the second revision of a social problems textbook, first published in 1933 and revised in 1939. According to the author, "Events have moved so

rapidly in the last seven years that the last edition is now out of date." The reviewer has been unsuccessful in obtaining a copy of the second edition but, in comparing this latest with the first, has come to the conclusion that the recognition of this fact of social change has not succeeded in altering the basic attitude of the social pathologist toward the ills of our society. Thirteen years of research in anthropology, psychology, economics, political science—to name a few of the disciplines which should have contributed to a better understanding of what's wrong with us—seem to have been wasted as far as he is concerned. To quote further, "The fundamental sociological principles which form the framework of the discussion of social pathology have not altered, but the war highlighted some of them in unique ways."

The principal fruits of recent experience with maladjustment are: (1) Formal reorganization of "some of the material in the interest of a more logical presentation." This takes the shape of a major dichotomy into two books, entitled respectively, "The Pathology of Personality" and "The Pathology of Social Organization," superimposed on the earlier division into five parts. It increases the number of forewords from five to six, but, even so, does not contribute significantly to our grasp of the material, which remains substantially the same. (2) The substitution of new-fashioned terms for older-fashioned terms. Thus, "mental disease" has become "mental disorder"; "personal disorganization" has given way to "personality disorganization"; "unmarried parenthood" succeeds "illegitimate parenthood"; "transiency" displaces "vagabondage." (3) The addition, where possible, of more up-to-date facts and figures on the incidence of socially pathological conditions and their treatment.

More than balancing the effect of these renovations is the fact that this latest treatise on social problems, like its predecessors and contemporaries, fails to live up to the promise of its first sentence: "This work is an attempt to treat social maladjustments in a framework of sociological theory in the belief that social pathology and social theory have been too long separated, to the disadvantage of both." The twain, unfortunately, are still strangers.

MASON T. RECORD

Connecticut College

German Education and Re-education. By SUSANNE CHARLOTTE ENGELMANN. With an Introduction by LEWIS M. TERMAN. New York: International Universities Press, 1945. Pp. 147. \$2.00.

This small volume is still most timely, illuminating, and valuable. It should be read and studied by our educators, our military and other authorities in Germany, and by our American citizens interested—as all of us are—in the difficult and complex problem discussed by the author, who was one of the out-

standing women educators of pre-Nazi Germany and who was naturally dismissed as "politically unreliable" under the Hitler regime. She remained in Berlin, however, until 1940 and then came to this country.

Her opinions are based on thorough knowledge of the history of German education—elementary, secondary, collegiate, and technical—as well as of the vicious methods of indoctrination introduced by the Nazis and the evil results achieved. The scope and character of her volume are indicated by the titles of her four chapters—"Class Education in the German Empire," "Educational Reforms in the German Republic," "Nazi Methods of Indoctrination," and "Outlook on Educational Reconstruction." They afford a liberal education for earnest and thoughtful American readers.

Dr. Engelmann is not very optimistic as to the present outlook, but neither is she unduly pessimistic. She expects little from the occupation forces in the way of effective re-education of adult Germans, and she says bluntly that "the plans to educate young children by others than native teachers are doomed to failure." She reminds us of the "paradox" we are prone to overlook—namely, that our task is a double one—that of educating the children of Germany, including the teen-age group, who were all members of the Hitler Youth (and called the "lost generation" by many writers) and that of educating the teachers and parents of these children.

Dr. Engelmann submits several definite and practical recommendations, which space limits do not allow the reviewer adequately to summarize. They considerably enhance the value of the volume. All appear to be feasible and enlightened. They require the co-operation of the churches, of German liberals and radicals still in exile, of former anti-Nazi labor leaders who, despite age and physical weakness due to hardships and suffering, can be induced to return to active life, because their country desperately needs their services, and to other dependable groups able and willing to contribute to the national solution of the problem in question.

VICTOR S. YARROS

Health Recovery in Europe. By SIR ARTHUR S. MACNALT and W. FRANKLIN MELLOR. London: Frederick Muller, Ltd., 1946. Pp. 190. 7s.6d.

This is a useful little book for those interested in postwar conditions in the field of health and the field of social welfare. But the book was written in 1945, although not published until later, and therefore deals with situations of yesterday. However, many of them are still of compelling importance.

The authors are both authorities in the field of which they write. Sir Arthur MacNalty was formerly chief medical officer of the British Ministry of Health, and Franklin Mellor was formerly a member of the Health Section of the League of Nations Secretariat.

In a Foreword, written in July, 1945, Sir Arthur Robinson, formerly secretary to the British Ministry of Health, notes that there have been "innumerable accounts of wars and other calamities, including the ravages of epidemic disease," but that relatively little has been available regarding the efforts made to prevent or minimize such conditions of international health work.

The book shows the work to be done in the field of international health work, gives an account of international health work after World War I and of the work of the health and medical services in various European countries, and at the same time suggests future action.

That "the task of rebuilding the impaired health of a continent after the greatest of all its wars" is still of major importance hardly needs to be said. There must be control of epidemic disease and attention given to the "conditions which have their roots in physical incapacity or nutritional deficiencies."

The authors suggest that "perhaps the most tragic part of war is its aftermath," and they point out that the first three years after the war of 1914-18 "saw more death and incapacity from under-nourishment and disease in Europe than that caused by casualties in the long drawn out battle." After the much greater war of 1939-45 there have been more areas of destruction, misery, and calamity with "sufferings more intense and prolonged." Again there is an economic and social organization almost completely destroyed, there are world shortages of essential foods, and there have been vast numbers of wandering people underfed and impoverished, including returning soldiers and prisoners of war.

There is an account of the nutritional situation in different countries of Europe during and at the close of the war, of general health conditions, and especially of the deficiency diseases; and special attention is given to tuberculosis, typhus, malaria, diphtheria, venereal diseases, and others that were expected to be important in the postwar picture.

There follows an account of the relief agencies—the military authorities, U.N.R.R.A., the voluntary agencies, and the national health and medical services in France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Belgium, Norway, and Poland. International health work before the war is discussed in another chapter, and international health work after the war is dealt with very briefly.

E. A.

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

13th Annual Report, New York City Housing Authority, 1947. Pp. 60.

In spite of generations of agitation there was not a single family living in public housing in New York City as recently as 1934. Today 24,880 families are occupying sanitary, publicly owned dwellings scattered throughout the five boroughs and are paying rentals that bear a realistic relationship to their incomes. The tremendous accomplishment revealed by these figures reflects great credit upon the New York City Housing Authority and upon the legislative leaders who made this program possible.

For a number of reasons—among them the actions of the state legislature and the understanding co-operation provided by the municipal administration—the New York City Housing Authority occupies a position of pre-eminence among the hundreds of local authorities now functioning in forty-one states. It is the only authority operating projects financed by the city alone; in addition, it has housing financed jointly by the city and the state, as well as the federally financed dwellings which constitute the total program of most local authorities. Unlike most housing authorities, it obtained funds to move vigorously forward during the war years. Thus it was able to acquire eight sites during the war, involving 110 acres of land, more than 1,000 buildings, 583 businesses, and in excess of 5,500 families. Operation of these properties produced a net income of \$400,000; but the most important gain was the availability of land for immediate postwar construction. As a result New York has been able to launch eight new projects since the close of the war, one of which is now fully occupied; during this same period most other local authorities have been able to do little or nothing in the way of new construction.

As the only agency in the community authorized to construct public housing, the New York City Authority decided that it could not, like private builders, await a decline in prices. Although construction costs are now more than 100 per cent above pre-war levels, the Authority believes its obligation is to try to remedy the

catastrophic shortage of housing. The higher costs will, in the long run, increase the subsidy required to amortize the debt, but meantime many families will be spared the ignominy of "doubling up" in slum tenements. Hence actual construction now in process will soon provide for an additional 11,533 families, and plans for dwellings to accommodate a further contingent of 11,665 families are already in an advanced stage.

A fine record of achievement has been chalked up by Edmond B. Butler, chairman; Mary K. Simkhovitch, vice-chairman; their fellow-members on the governing board; and by the staff of 1,700 employees. One wonders, therefore, why the legislature recently terminated the office of the present chairman and empowered the mayor to appoint a new chairman who will be a full-time salaried official and will hold office at the mayor's pleasure. It is true that in large cities it is practically a full-time job to be chairman of a housing authority, a school board, a park board, or similar public service agencies. But in providing a salary for the chairman, or for all members of the board, as in Boston, there is a greatly increased risk that the appointments will be sought by persons who are merely in need of a salary. Sooner or later some such aspirants obtain the kind of backing that makes it difficult for the mayor to reject them.

This *Report* rates high in readability. It is profusely illustrated with maps and effective photographs. Although some students would perhaps have appreciated more detailed information at certain points, the added bulk might have frightened many potential readers. It is clear that the purpose of the Authority was to get a succinct record of its operations actually read by a large number of citizens. It seems probable that this purpose will be achieved.

WAYNE McMILLEN

University of Chicago

National Housing Commission Act: Report from the Committee on Banking and Currency To Accompany S. 866 (A Bill To Establish a

National Housing Objective and the Policy To Be Followed in the Attainment Thereof, To Facilitate Sustained Progress in the Attainment of Such Objective and To Provide for the Coordinated Execution of Such Policy through a National Housing Commission, and for Other Purposes). (80th Congress, 1st Session, Report No. 140.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947. Pp. 50.

This excellent brief report is a masterpiece of summarization. All the reams of testimony presented at the hearings on the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill are condensed here to a few well-substantiated conclusions. In fact, the salient findings of the hearings on two preceding bills with comparable objectives are introduced to corroborate conclusions reached by this committee.

In recommending passage of the bill, the committee expressed belief that its provisions are "fair to every interest and group." It also admitted that "much difficulty could be avoided and the passage of this bill considerably eased, if we were to eliminate the provisions for public housing for families of low income." It might have added that the real estate lobby and its associates actually defeated a similar bill in the 79th Congress and that they are trying hard to defeat this one—apparently with considerable hope of success. Nevertheless, the committee retained the modest provisions relating to public housing because it did not see how it could "recommend a housing program which would aid all groups of our citizenry except the very one which is most in need of aid."

The committee concluded that the nation needs a minimum of 1,500,000 new nonfarm dwellings annually for a sustained period of years. In confirmation of this finding it quotes the estimates of the Federal Reserve Board (1,200,000 to 1,500,000 per year) and of J. Frederic Dewhurst of the Twentieth Century Fund (1,300,000 per year for fifteen years). This program will require extensive use of federal leadership and federal credit. Most of the provisions of the act are self-liquidating. The subsidies for land assembly and for the housing of rural and urban low-income families will require relatively small sums, amounting to a fraction of 1 per cent of the annual federal budget. The out-of-pocket cost for the program over the entire forty-five-year period of amortization would be less than the expenditures in-

curred for one month's prosecution of World War II.

In addition to the excellent summary of findings and recommendations (pp. 1-19), the report sets forth title by title and section by section all the provisions of the bill in clear, nontechnical language.

W. McM.

Federal Prisons, 1946: A Review of the Work of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, 1946, Including Statistics of Federal Prisoners and of Federal Parole Selection. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, 1947. Pp. v+89.

Following the general pattern of his recent reports, the Director of the Bureau of Prisons describes in concise, readable form the effects of the war years and the impact of postwar adjustments on various phases of the Bureau's complex operations. Several special problems are dealt with, notably those created by the presence of Selective Service Act violators and military offenders in the institutional population. Also, new developments in the Bureau's juvenile program are discussed in some detail. There are useful charts and tables, and statistics cover a wide range of interesting data as to such subjects as population, offenses committed, social information regarding offenders, variations in sentences, parole selection, length of detention, and inspection ratings of jails.

Created as a separate agency in 1930, the Bureau now operates twenty-eight specialized institutions and has an annual operating budget of about nineteen million dollars. During the year the average population of Bureau-operated institutions was 18,698, an increase of 644 over 1945, and all federal prisoners averaged 22,709, an increase of 373 over the previous year. There was a slight decrease in commitments to federal institutions, the total being 14,832 as compared with 14,982 in 1945. Moderate increases in commitments for peacetime offenses were registered, but these were more than offset by the decline in war-related commitments. Noteworthy, however, was the 86 per cent increase in commitments for violations of the National Motor Vehicle Theft Act—up to 1,997 from 1,072 in 1945. In view of the expectation of a postwar "crime wave" this may have some significance when coupled with the continued proportionate increase in commitments of youthful

offenders, which in 1946 reached a new high, with more than 40 per cent of total commitments being offenders under twenty-five years of age.

Comments on the problems introduced by the Selective Service Act violators are refreshingly candid. It is pointed out that the Bureau was not responsible for the basic national policies involved but was forced to face the brunt of the criticism and disgruntlement which developed as the result of sanctions imposed by the act. In addition, the Bureau was criticized by groups and individuals, including federal judges, who believed that violators of the act were being treated too leniently. The report aptly states:

Thus in many of our decisions related to these offenders we were "damned if we did and damned if we didn't"—though all we desired was freedom to follow our traditional policy of disregarding so far as possible the offense for which a prisoner was committed and treating each simply as an individual needing correctional treatment adapted to his personal situation.

There were 11,140 violators of the act sent to federal institutions over a period of six years, of whom some 4,000 were Jehovah's Witnesses and about 1,200 were classified as "conscientious objectors" (although legally not defined as such). The number of commitments under the act decreased to 1,312 during the year, as compared with 2,477 in 1945, and the average sentences were shorter. The proportion of Selective Service Act violators in the prison population dropped from 23.5 per cent at the beginning of the year to 14.6 per cent at the year's end, this being due in part to the very substantial increase in paroles—1,338 this year, as compared with only 400 in 1945. The special parole program under which violators of the act have been released to military service or to civilian work of national importance has been continued and now will be liberalized in conformity with Selective Service discharges from civilian public service camps, which "should lead to the release of a considerable number of conscientious objectors and Jehovah's Witnesses." The Bureau recommends that a study be made of war-objector cases in order to determine future policies. This is a sound proposal, and it is hoped that the policies framed will avoid the use of imprisonment.

Military offenders confined represented an increasing problem numerically rather than a diminishing one, and they comprised about one-

fifth of the prison population on June 30, 1946, with a total of 3,422, including 59 Navy prisoners. During the year, 2,216 were received as compared with 1,825 in 1945 and 962 in 1944.¹ In 1946 a total of 2,685 Army prisoners received clemency reductions in sentence, and 1,227 were transferred to military installations for prospective restoration to duty.

The appalling fact about the military prisoners is the length of sentences imposed. Counting life sentences as forty-five years, the average sentence of the 2,216 commitments in 1946 was 258 months—contrasting sharply with the average sentence of 16 months for prisoners received from the federal courts. Under current War Department regulations, each case is reviewed at least annually, and it is probable that nearly all these sentences will be reduced. Although there are some seriously maladjusted persons in the military group, the report points out that only 39 per cent of the military prisoners committed in 1946 had previous commitments (some to military institutions), and the Bureau "is confident that a substantial proportion of these offenders will again make good citizens." Those who know prisons will agree that not many will make good citizens if they remain in custody an average of over twenty-one years, and it is hoped that the War Department will take aggressive clemency action in all cases in which prospects for readjustment in the community are good. Sentences that were imposed as a matter of alleged military expediency and with emphasis on the offense, now should be re-evaluated with emphasis on the individual.

The Bureau's juvenile program has been given new impetus with the development of the Natural Bridge Camp, Virginia. Opened August 14, 1944, as a forestry camp for youths sixteen to eighteen years of age, this former C.C.C. project is experimental. The program has been developed slowly, and at the end of the year the population was only ninety boys. In addition to the task of reconstructing and remodeling the camp itself, constructive forestry projects form the nucleus of the program.

The heart of the program, however, lies in the relationships between individual staff members and

¹ Army prisoners in federal institutions reached a peak of 4,038 in November, 1946, and declined slightly to 3,905 on March 31, 1947. See Austin H. McCormick and Victor H. Evjen, "The Army's Postwar Program for Military Prisoners," *Prison World*, IX, 3 (May-June, 1947), 4.

boys, and in the fundamentally democratic organization of camp life. Men selected as counselors have been chosen primarily for their ability to lead youngsters and to understand their problems. . . . All are young, most have families, and all share the common interest of work with boys. Each counselor acts as an adviser and leader to a team of 10 boys. He is responsible for knowing intimately the problems of his team members and for aiding, so far as he can, in their solution. Counselors serve as project supervisors, as recreational directors, as teachers, and as friends. Through their example they attempt to furnish to the boys a pattern for behavior and for life activity.

With an average of more than fifteen hundred juvenile violators of federal laws in its custody in 1946, the Bureau has a responsibility as well as an opportunity to improve institutional care for juvenile offenders. According to the report, ". . . the camp is a logical product of our increasing conviction that the traditional training-school program fails to meet fully the needs of many youths." This is a polite understatement of the truth—namely, that the traditional training-school program rarely meets any of youth's needs, whether physical or emotional, in a way that is decent and constructive. This project should be regarded as one of the most useful and necessary of the Bureau's activities, especially because its ultimate use as a demonstration unit may help to break the tradition that makes so many training schools nothing more than junior prisons. Measured by other juvenile institutions, this program may be costly, but, if properly developed, its expense can be justified to the taxpayers, not only by its tangible returns in forest conservation, but also by its very real returns in youth conservation.

Some progress is indicated with respect to prison industries and vocational training, despite necessary postwar adjustments. The data concerning jail inspections reflect the usual dismal picture, with only 444, or 14 per cent of 2,995 county jails and 132 city institutions, being fully approved for federal use. Many "fully approved jails" are so classified with considerable reluctance, and their use is based solely on geographical considerations. However, it is encouraging to learn that there seems to be increased public interest in the problem, as evidenced by numerous requests for information about specific jails and for recommendations as to what should be done about them. This service of the Bureau is a real contribution in an area which seems to defy improvement. As the report states: "Jails . . . reflect general stand-

ards of communities for which Boards of County Commissioners, other officials, and the citizenry, all share responsibility."

Throughout this competent report, the professional attitudes of the Director, James V. Bennett, and his capable staff are evident. In the Conclusion it is stated that in order to deal with crime intelligently our outmoded theories of retribution must be abandoned. The implications developed are interesting:

This means among other things that we must substitute for strictly punitive treatment the indeterminate sentence. If, instead of a penalty for a criminal act, a sentence became merely a commitment for rehabilitative treatment, or, when such treatment proves unsuccessful, for indefinite custody for society's protection; if personnel and resources were available to put into practice what we know today about correcting and modifying human behavior; if the date of termination of treatment, or of continued custody, could be determined professionally as a physician determines such matters with respect to the sick; then prisons would be doing their full share to meet the crime problem.

This is a stimulating, long-range viewpoint, and one that should be more prevalent in other areas of correctional administration.

FRANK T. FLYNN

University of Chicago

*South Carolina Department of Public Welfare,
Ninth Annual Report for the Year Ended June
30, 1946. Columbia, 1946. Pp. vi+86.*

This is a report which when compared with earlier ones from South Carolina shows both gain and lag. Since the establishment of a State Board in 1920, public welfare in the state has shown an uphill climb with several setbacks, among them the eight-year period from 1927 to 1935, in which no funds were appropriated to the State Board and it became entirely inactive. In 1935, in co-operation with F.E.R.A., a temporary department was established, two years later becoming permanent. The current program is presented in the *Ninth Report* in 22 pages of comment and recommendation, 48 pages of tables and schedules, and a full reprint of the South Carolina Public Welfare Act as amended to June 30, 1946.

The *Report* cites "definite progress in all phases of the work," with fullest comments upon the "growing public recognition of the

varied types of service the agency is authorized to provide," not only to assistance clients but to other individuals, institutions, and agencies. Particularly in the areas of prevention, treatment, and vocational rehabilitation, services for the blind have been expanded and improved. The Child Welfare Services Division reports progress in service given but outlines a number of delayed "next steps" which it believes must be taken if children are to be served adequately, the four most important being: to secure a more completely trained staff with extension of educational leave from the present six months to at least a year; to secure appropriations for foster-home boarding; to modernize the "inadequate laws regarding the adoption and custody of children"; to provide for the mentally defective and delinquent Negro child.

The *Report* then indicates the emphasis for the months ahead in two important sections—"Legislation Recommended" and "Federal Legislation Favored." It is more outspoken in the area of federal legislation, on specific issues urging the federal government to move faster than it recommends to the state. For example, the state has a one-year residence and citizenship requirement for O.A.A., but the *Report* does not recommend that this be changed in the state law. Yet it "favors" federal legislation which would "eliminate all residence and citizenship requirements." Again, the present state maximum for O.A.A. is \$20; for A.D.C. \$15 for the first child; for A.B. \$25—each category far below the federal maximums—but the *Report* in-dorses removal of both federal and state ceilings without calling attention to the present disparity between the state's grants and the amounts that could even now be matched under the present federal formula.

Grants are a little better than they were nine years ago, but the increase has been in part offset by the rising cost of living and does not appear to have kept pace with the trend for the country as a whole or with the national averages. The *First Annual Report* shows that the average O.A.A. grant for June, 1938, was \$10.78. For June, 1946, it was \$16.09. (This places South Carolina near the bottom of the states with only Kentucky, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia below.) The 1938 report shows the average A.D.C. case receiving \$20.40. This has risen just \$3.21—to \$23.61 (only Kentucky remains lower). A.B. is in a slightly less unfavorable position. With its \$5.00 higher maximum in South Carolina the average grant has risen

from \$13.98 in 1938 to \$21.18 in 1946 (this places the state in the thirty-seventh position).

The *Report* partly accounts for the low grants by lack of funds and strongly urges variable federal grants on the basis of per capita income, but throughout it fails to indicate the amount of the unmet need in the case load or the degree of deprivation that budgets reveal. In the comments its aged do not stand out as hard-pressed individuals who must somehow manage on total resources of \$20 per month or less. Nor do its children or its blind. Actually the *Report* carries little conviction that a majority of the grants are too low.

In recommending removal of the present maximums, it refers to them as "the lowest maximum awards in the nation" but then it says, "The Department encounters a few cases in which the amount allowed under the law is insufficient to provide even the barest necessities, because of extraordinary need." For O.A.A. "extraordinary need" would mean any need above \$20. The implication of "few cases," "extraordinary need," and "extreme cases" is not only confusing but it actually tends to minimize the predicament of the many whose need is less severe but certainly real. It leaves some doubt about the actual amount of unmet need in South Carolina.

Several years ago, when the department initiated a vigorous and successful drive which resulted in removal of the constitutional maximums, it undoubtedly intended to push with equal persistence toward a change in the law. Although the "Legislation Recommended" does ask for such an amendment, the comments do not stress the over-all unmet need. The department may have been reluctant to analyze the costs of more adequate relief for fear the amendment might appear too expensive for consideration. Whatever its reasons, the *Report* does not include the extent to which the budgeted need of the case load is being met, or any estimate of the funds necessary to meet 100 per cent of the deficit up to the present maximums, or any estimate of the funds necessary to meet 100 per cent of the deficit if ceilings are removed and additional help given to "extreme cases."

Only for general relief does the *Report* include data regarding the percentage of the budgetary deficit that is being met. No rearrangement of material in tables and schedules yields any information to show the degree of adequacy or inadequacy of the assistance for the other cate-

* Italics are reviewer's.

gories. The department might well strengthen its case with the inclusion of such data, using its budgets as an objective gauge for determining the degree of adequacy of grants.

The *Report* would gain clarity and emphasis with a wholehearted marshaling of facts to show "how" and "where" and for "how many" actual need still exists in spite of concerted efforts to meet it. Inclusion of such facts would serve to keep the state legislature reminded of the gap between appropriations and need and would be concrete evidence for the state to use in promoting more adequate appropriations and federal variable grants.

LOIS GRATZ

University of Chicago

North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, Biennial Report, July 1, 1944 to June 30, 1946. Raleigh, 1946. Pp. 110.

This *Biennial Report* reflects the broad powers and responsibilities of the North Carolina Board of Public Welfare in contrast to most of the southern state welfare authorities, which have been so largely influenced by the Social Security Act and therefore especially concerned with public assistance and child welfare services. This fact is not surprising as the North Carolina Board dates back to 1869 and the era of state boards of charities, which were concerned with charitable and penal institutions and the county jails and almshouses as well. Only in 1945 was the name of the board changed from the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, by which it had been known since 1917, to the present designation. The same legislature authorized the board to license boarding-homes for the aged and infirm, and during the biennium the state board adopted standards for the licensing of commercial homes caring for children.

One of the divisions of particular interest maintained by the department is termed the "Unit of Work among Negroes." The consultant attached to this service, under the direction of the commissioner, "attempts to improve welfare services for Negroes and encourage understanding of and participation in public welfare activities." Various studies were undertaken; the consultant participated in several state-wide programs such as the one on recreation and gave special attention to serving a large number of Negro recipients. The qualifications of these workers were high, as the *Report*

points out that the majority were graduates of schools of social work.

Along with the progress being made in the general welfare services of the state the General Assembly increased the annual appropriation for old age assistance from \$1,300,000 to \$1,500,000 and that for A.D.C. only slightly from \$525,000 to \$580,000. The ceiling on O.A.A. monthly grants was raised from \$30 to \$40, and other minor changes were made. But assistance grants as the *Report* emphasizes still remain very low, and North Carolina ranked forty-sixth among the states in its average payments to the old people and forty-fourth in the average grants to dependent children. In general assistance, which is entirely financed from local funds, the average monthly grants were so low (\$11.93 for June, 1946) that only the state of Mississippi provided less for this group of recipients. In the amount expended per inhabitant (1944-45) for public assistance by the thirteen Southern states, again North Carolina was near the bottom and surprisingly enough was spending less per inhabitant than South Carolina, which is usually regarded as less industrialized and in general a poorer state.

The *Report* recognizes the fact that local responsibility is inadequate to the need and recommends larger state appropriations for the two categories as well as some support for general assistance. At present the one hundred counties bear 22.8 per cent of the cost of O.A.A. and 25.1 per cent for A.D.C., and, as stated, 100 per cent of the cost of general assistance. In North Carolina the state welfare department does not administer aid to the blind, which is under a separate state agency.

The *Report* is clearly written and makes interesting reading. The recommendations are, however, stated in such general terms that the reviewer at least questions whether they are directed toward practical legislative action.

ELIZABETH WISNER

Tulane University

Medical Care and Costs in Relation to Family Income: A Statistical Source Book. Selected and compiled by HELEN HOLLINGSWORTH, MARGARET C. KLEM, and ANNA MAE BANEY. (Bureau of Research and Statistics, Federal Security Agency, Bureau Memorandum No. 51 [2d ed.].) Washington, D.C.:

Government Printing Office, 1947. Pp. 349. \$1.25.

First published in 1943, the purpose of this volume was to provide basic data on the receipt and the costs of medical care as they relate to family income. This second edition includes data on these same subjects and, in addition, sets forth material on the economic characteristics of the population, vital statistics, health personnel and facilities, and voluntary insurance. The 317 tables are grouped under the following seven headings: (1) Some economic characteristics of the population; (2) Measurements of medical care needs; (3) Medical care expenditures; (4) Health personnel; (5) Health facilities; (6) Voluntary hospital and medical care insurance; (7) State summaries.

The studies from which the statistical tables are taken are described in an opening statement. These useful descriptions set forth briefly and clearly the facts needed by those wishing to use the tables; they include with respect to each study such information as the purpose of the study, the sponsor, the coverage, the methods used, and the definition of terms.

At a time when the health needs of the nation are under discussion everywhere, this volume meets a real need and seems likely to be very extensively used.

W. McM.

Teamwork in Community Services, 1941-1946: A Demonstration in Federal, State, and Local Cooperation. OFFICE OF COMMUNITY WAR SERVICES, FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, Washington, D.C., 1946. Pp. v+80.

This well-written report is descriptive rather than analytical. It sets forth succinctly, and with numerous concrete illustrations, the accomplishments of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, created by an Executive Order of September 3, 1941, and its successor, the Office of Community War Services, so named by an Executive Order of April 29, 1943. The major activities of the agency are described in chapters entitled, respectively, "Recreation" and "Social Protection." A third chapter, entitled "Other Programs," deals with the remaining responsibilities that were intrusted to the agency, including Day Care of Children, the National Nutrition program, the Physical Fitness program (originally developed by O.C.D.),

the Health and Medical Committee, and the Family Security Committee. Three useful addenda at the end of the volume are: (1) a list of publications issued by C.W.S.; (2) a chronological summary of the major events that led to the creation and rapid development of the agency (Sept. 1, 1939—June 10, 1946); (3) a list of the officials in charge of the agency from its inception to its dissolution.

The report makes interesting reading. It is almost wholly objective, as perhaps it should be. But some students of community organization will doubtless regret that it ignores process and contributes little in the way of evaluation. It seems probable that some of those who carried responsibilities on the developmental side learned lessons that would be helpful to the rest of us, but they have not shared this knowledge in the present report.

W. McM.

International Labour Conference, Thirtieth Session, Geneva, 1947: Report of the Director-General, First Item on the Agenda. Geneva: International Labour Office, 1947. Pp. iv+120. \$0.60.

This *Report* of the Director-General of the I.L.O. reviews first the economic background in the principal countries of the world, including full employment and maximum living standards, price increases, world trade, and housing, as well as presenting a brief account of recent I.L.O. activities. In its review of economic problems, the *Report* points out that the outstanding universal shortage is that of housing. Prices, it is pointed out, may continue to rise in many countries, although there is little evidence of runaway inflation. The coal shortage in Europe is recognized as the most serious drag on the Continent's recovery. Despite shortages of food, power, skilled labor, and foreign exchange, notable advances in agricultural and industrial production and in transport in Europe have been achieved.

There is a long chapter on "Trends in Social Policy," dealing with migration (including population transfers and with displaced persons and refugees), industrial relations, children and young workers, women's work, industrial safety, and social insurance. In the survey of social trends it is pointed out that in most countries employment has been maintained at a high

level in the change-over from war to peace activities. The *Report* states that in many countries the search for full employment has been transformed into a search for manpower. In a large part of the world "unemployment has been reduced to what may be called rock bottom minimum." The *Report* goes on to say that the idea has disappeared that a hard core of unemployment is unavoidable. European recovery, the Director-General says, could proceed faster if more labor were available. The *Report* points out, however, that, although world levels of employment are high, there should be no grounds for complacency. In some countries unemployment is a major social and economic problem, and other countries, particularly the industrially underdeveloped, suffer from long-term chronic underemployment.

The *Report* also finds that trade-unions emerged from the war with increased memberships, a generally strengthened position, and new responsibilities both in the organization of national economies and the conduct of individual enterprises.

The chapter on "The Activities of the I.L.O." discusses relations with the United Nations and other international organizations—the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment, U.N.E.S.C.O., the World Health Organization, the International Refugee Organization. The Director-General points out the unfortunate gap left among international organizations by the liquidation of U.N.R.R.A. He goes on to say:

The inter-war history of international economic relations showed how radical a change in national attitudes will be required to achieve the degree of international economic collaboration which is essential to the attainment of maximum living standards and world peace. The final stages of the war and its aftermath have surely demonstrated quite conclusively that it is vital to achieve these aims; and the measure of economic collaboration already developed gives ground at least for hope that the necessary changes in attitudes and policies may not prove beyond the wit and will of men.

CONTRIBUTORS

OTHER THAN CHICAGO FACULTY

ARLIE JOHNSON, president of the National Conference of Social Work in 1947, is dean of the Graduate School of Social Work of the University of Southern California.

MILDRED ARNOLD is director of the Social Service Division of the United States Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C.

ROBERT M. BALL is assistant director, Committee on Education and Social Security, of the American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.

CURT STEFFEN, M.D., D.P.H., F.I.C.S., who formerly supervised the entire medical panel service in Hamburg, is now a physician in Rockford, Illinois.

GEORGE W. EBEBY is California state chairman, American Veterans Committee.

W. HARDY WICKWAR is professor in the department of political science of Hamilton College, Clinton, New York.

O"
nd
ood
on-
nt,
nd
lth
Or-
the
or-
A.

mic
nal
of
en-
rds
its
clu-
the
vel-
res-
ove

ho
cal
an

an,

rt-
ol-

REPRINTS FOR SALE

from THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Valuable for use in classes. Minimum order, 10 copies of a single title, \$1.00
(Additional copies, 10 cents each)

Teaching Methods in Practice Courses: Integration of Theory and Practice. By *Fern Lowry*
Paradox and Parallel: The Maxims of La Rochefoucauld and Case-Work Principles. By *Mary W. Houseman*

The Military Social Worker. By *Bertram M. Beck*

Child Welfare Services in Three Western States. By *Barbara Coughlan*

International Organization in the Area of Social and Humanitarian Problems. By *Smith Simpson*

Common Human Needs in Public Assistance Problems. By *Charlotte Towle*

The Family Allowances Controversy in Canada. By *Charlotte Whitton*

Kansas County Homes after the Social Security Act. By *Violet M. Fischer*

Benjamin Franklin and the Poor Laws. By *Howell V. Williams*

Staff Needs in Vocational Rehabilitation Services. By *Helen R. Wright and Mary E. Macdonald*

Juvenile Delinquency in Great Britain during the First World War. By *Edith Abbott*

Child Welfare Services and the County Court. By *Andrew F. Juras and Verl Lewis*

The Responsibility of Relatives under the State Old Age Assistance Laws. By *Ethel J. Hart*

Symposium on Fifty Years of Social Progress. By *Helen Russell Wright, Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Mabel Newcomer, and Carter Goodrich*

Fifty Years Ago in Social Welfare, Documents of 1890-91

Public Welfare Research and the Schools of Social Work. By *Anne E. Geddes, George Keith, and Malcolm B. Stinson*

Some Aspects of Eugenic Marriage Legislation in the United States: Part I, Communicable Disease. Part II, Mental Incapacity. By *Ruth Velma Schuler* (two reprints together)

Establishing Research as a Major Function of a Private Social Agency. By *Robert T. Lansdale*

Two Studies of Child Labor in the South: Child Labor in Industrialized Agriculture in Hidalgo County, Texas. By *Savilla Millie Simons*; Child Labor in Southern Defense Areas. By *Myron Falk* (two reprints together)

The Effect of the War upon Children. By *Charlotte Towle*

SOCIAL CASE WORK DISCUSSIONS

Choosing between Social Treatment and Legal Authority in Family Problems. By *Jeanette Hanford*

The Individual in Relation to Social Change. By *Charlotte Towle*

Underlying Skill in Case Work Today. By *Charlotte Towle*

The Significance of Money in the Child-placing Agency's Work. By *Leon H. Richman*

Old Age Assistance Case Record: Fannie, Margaret, and Ruth Bauer. The Record of Three Sisters Receiving Old Age Assistance in the Same Household. By *Grace Browning*

Case-Work Practice as Affected by War Conditions. By *Fern Lowry*

Rural Case Records. By *Grace Browning*

A Social Case Record from a Rural County: Luther Fox

A Social Case Record from a Psychiatric Clinic with Teaching Notes: Daniel Lephanski. By *Charlotte Towle*

Order from **THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS**

5750 ELLIS AVENUE • CHICAGO 37, ILLINOIS

The University of Chicago
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE
ADMINISTRATION



ACADEMIC YEAR 1947-48

Winter Quarter begins January 5, 1948

Spring Quarter begins March 29, 1948

SUMMER QUARTER—1948

(Dates to be announced later)

Announcements

GIVING COMPLETE PROGRAM AND REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMISSION WILL
BE SENT ON REQUEST.

